

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

CONGRESSIONAL BANQUET

IN HONOR OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

AND THE

PRINCIPLES OF WASHINGTON.

REPORTED AND PUBLISHED

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CONGRESSIONAL CELEBRATION

OF

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

At a meeting of members of Congress held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, pursuant to public notice given in the Washington papers, to make preliminary arrangements for a Congressional celebration of the 22d of February next, upon the principles of the "Farewell Address," set forth in the following extract:

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little connection as possible. Why quit [asked he] our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

"The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is dear to you. Much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth. It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness, that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable, attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that in any event it can be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now bind together the various parts."

On motion of Hon. A. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, Hon. JAMES BROOKS, of New York, was called to the chair, and Hon. GILCHRIST PORTER, of Missouri, appointed Secretary.

After some conversation as to the plan of the celebration, and the beneficial effects to result to the whole country if such celebrations were general, the Chairman was directed to appoint a Committee of Arrangements to consist of seven gentlemen, and a Committee of Correspondence to consist of five gentlemen.

The Chairman having taken some time to consult with members of Congress, submits the following:

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.—Hon. A. H. Stephens, Ga.; Hon. T. H. Bayly, Va.;

Hon. Edward Stanly, N. C.; Hon. C. L. Dunham, Ia.; Hon. William Appleton, Mass.; Hon. W. H. Polk, Tenn.; Hon. A. L. Miner, Vt.

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.—Hon. W. H. Bissell, Ill.; Hon. J. H. H. Haws, N. Y.; Hon. W. R. Smith, Ala.; Hon. Alexander Evans, Md.; Hon. V. E. Howard, Texas.

JAMES BROOKS, *Chairman.*

G. PORTER, *Secretary.*

In pursuance of the foregoing proceedings, a Banquet was held at Willard's Hotel, on the evening of Saturday, the 21st of February.

The Dining Hall was tastefully decorated with the "stars and stripes," and the table was plentifully supplied with all the delicacies of the season.

The Hon. R. F. STOCKTON, United States Senator from the State of New Jersey, presided, and was supported on the right by the Hon. WILLIAM R. KING, President of the Senate, and G. W. P. CUSTIS, Esq., and on the left by Judge WAYNE, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and General WINFIELD SCOTT.

The Hon. ABRAHAM W. VENABLE, of North Carolina, and the Hon. JOHN L. TAYLOR, of Ohio, acted as Vice Presidents.

The Marine Band were in attendance.

At half-past eight o'clock, the Rev. C. M. BUTLER, Chaplain of the Senate, invoked the Divine blessing; after which, the company proceeded to do justice to the viands spread before them.

The Rev. C. M. BUTLER returned thanks when the cloth was removed.

The PRESIDENT then rose and said:

FRIENDS AND AMERICANS: In calling me to preside over this festive commemoration of the Birthday of Washington, a great honor has been conferred on me, for which my best thanks are due. As our Republic grows, as she enlarges her sphere, as the multiplying millions diffuse themselves over this vast continent, our federal relations will probably become more complicated and diversified, and the blessings of the Constitution and the Union may be more

severely tried, by mistaken construction, reckless violation, or insidious corruption. The remembrance of the past, the momentous questions of the present day, and the solemn mysteries of the future, should teach us to appreciate the inestimable treasure that is concentrated in the pure character and holy patriotism of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," [cheers,] and to admonish us of the importance of our keeping fresh in the minds of all this mighty people the memory of our beloved Washington. [Renewed cheers.] That is a talisman whose virtue is more precious than oceans of liquid gold, or solid mountains of silver. Nobleness of sentiment, heroism of conduct, and love of liberty, have astonished and delighted mankind in every country and in every age; costly sacrifices have been made by patriots, and actions of almost incredible prowess have been performed, by mighty men of old. But in those exhibitions of valor and greatness there has almost always been more or less of personal ambition or criminal atrocity. It was left for the age of our Revolution to produce a true hero and patriot—a man whose fame is obnoxious to no such reproach. A Christian hero, he was indeed a stern soldier and conqueror, but without a crime. His eyes glistened with the dew-drops of pity, even when the unsheathed sword reeked with the blood of the fallen foe. A statesman and a legislator, neither intrigue, dissimulation, nor injustice, marred his character. The first man of the age, his great desire was to occupy a private station. In every vocation in which he was called to act, he excelled the most illustrious of all preceding ages, and he differed from the greatest among them, by being untarnished by those imperfections which they exhibited. But I will not attempt the vain effort of magnifying his fame. His virtues are the legacy of the greatest value which he has bequeathed. We have assembled to renew our remembrance of those virtues, and not to offer incense of praise to his great name. This being our *only* object on this occasion, I say, in the language of Holy Writ, "It is good for us to be here." Let us erect a Tabernacle in every heart, and dedicate it to Washington and the Constitution. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, we shall be true to our country, the American people will be true to their country and to its Constitution, just so long as we are all true to the memory of Washington. Through all time, the virtue of our people will be gauged by the intensity of their veneration for his precepts of wisdom, by the vigor of their appreciation for his character, and by the respect which they cherish and manifest for his virtues. If the time shall come when unholy ambition, the lust for power, and foreign conquest or the glory of expensive war, shall animate our public men, and their fierce passions

and dangerous designs cannot be checked by the remembrance of the probity of Washington and his policy, then indeed the golden age of this Republic will be forgotten. [Applause.] If sectional injustice and animosities almost kindle the fires of civil war—if illegal power, regardless of the reserved rights of the States and the people, shall trample, under the victorious march of party spirit, the Constitution—then if an appeal to the memory of the grave and fastidious caution with which Washington interpreted that sacred instrument shall be in vain; then, indeed, small hope will remain to invigorate the efforts of the patriots to bring back the Government to the purity of Washington and Jefferson. If the time shall come, when, under the influence of generous, hospitable emotions or ill-considered partiality, our people shall rashly seek to involve the Republic in the stormy and wretched vortex of European politics; and, abandoning the ground of Washington, seek to place themselves on that of foreign Powers—forgetful that their first and chief duty is to take care of their own country—then, if the farewell warnings of the Father of his Country cannot recall them to a true perception of the duties of patriotism, nothing but those calamities which entangling alliances, and the long and fearful train of evils which float in the wake of pernicious war, will reveal the delusion, the folly, and the errors, of their degenerate age. [Great and prolonged applause.] If the time shall ever come when corruption shall invade the walls of our proud Capitol, and venal crime shall stalk unblushing through its precincts—and profligate extravagance and perfidious peculation abound at the other end of the Avenue—then, if the remembrance of the frugality, the purity, the simplicity of Washington's Administration cannot save us, we shall have foundered upon those rocks on which all other Republics have broken to pieces. [Applause.] When corruption reigns here, Washington will be forgotten. [Great applause.]

Friends and fellow-citizens! following in the footsteps of the immortal Washington, let us cherish his memory and profit by his precepts and his wisdom. Members of both Houses of Congress! let us keep this Government within its prescribed, constitutional limits, [applause;] preserve it a frugal and economical Government, [renewed applause,] drawing from the people no more than is absolutely necessary for the purposes of an honest administration of the Constitution. [Applause.] Let no temptation, however urgent or magnificent, induce us to violate its spirit or its letter. Let forbearance and conciliation toward all the different sections of our country, and their diverse interests, distinguish our councils; cherish peace; avoid war, when not essential for practicable purposes, or for the defence of national interests and national honor. Then, we shall bid de-

fiance to the remorseless appetite for power ; we shall erect an invincible barrier to corruption ; we shall thus baffle demagogues at home, and check eventually the march of despotism abroad. [Loud applause.] By disregarding the maxims and forgetting the virtues of Washington, we might sooner, perhaps, reach the pinnacle of greatness, but it would be at the expense of the longevity of the Republic. Let us adhere to them, for they will conduct us quite soon enough to the topmost round of the ladder of national aspiration ; and while thus adhering to his example and emulating his patriotic devotion to the Constitution, let us look high enough to see and open our hearts wide enough to embrace all the varied interests of this widely-extended country. If we have patriotism enough to stand up at all times and under all emergencies for our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country, we may some of us be victims to the little arts of little politicians ; but even in death, our country—great, glorious, united, and prosperous—will be our monument, attesting our fidelity and honoring our memories. [Great and prolonged cheering.]

Fellow-citizens, I have the honor to announce the first regular toast :

The Day we Celebrate—Auspicious to the cause of rational freedom. It gave to liberty its ablest defender, and to republican institutions their truest expounder.

MUSIC—Washington's March.

Mr. CRITTENDEN, in answer to loud calls from all parts of the hall, rose and said :

Mr. PRESIDENT: I regret that in this company, where there are so many others more capable, I should have been selected and called upon to respond to the toast announcing the Father of his Country as its mighty theme. You have met, sir, to commemorate the anniversary of his birth. The occasion and the associations by which we are surrounded—here, in the city which he founded, at the Capitol and Seat of Government which he established, in sight of Mount Vernon, his chosen residence and the sacred sepulchre of his remains—the occasion and the associations make us feel as though we were almost brought into his presence ; at least his name is here—a name which can never die—a living name, before which every head in the civilized world is bent in reverence, and to which the homage of every true American heart is due. [Loud cheers.] I almost fear to speak on such a subject. The character of Washington has ascended above the ordinary language of eulogy. A Cæsar, a Napoleon, a Cromwell, may excite the noisy applause of the world, and inflame the passions of men, by the story of their fields and their fame ; but the name of Washington occupies a different, a serener, a calmer, a more celestial sphere. [Great applause.] There is not in his character, and

there is not about his name, any of that turbulence, and excitement, and glare, which constitute glory, in the vulgar and worldly sense of the term. His name has sunk deep into the hearts of mankind, and more especially has it sunk deep into the mind and heart of America, and in that secret and inner temple it will reside, without any of the forms of ostentatious idolatry. It resides in the inner recesses of the hearts of his countrymen ; and, like an oracle, is continually whispering lessons of patriotism and of virtue. [Great cheering.] He never sought or asked for what men call glory. He sought to serve his kind and his country, by his beneficence and his virtues, and he found in that service, and in the performance of his duty, that only and that richest reward which can recompense the patriot and the statesman. [Renewed and enthusiastic applause.] That was our Washington. Let all the rest of the world present anything like his parallel. The verdict of mankind has already assigned to him a pre-eminent and solitary grandeur. [Applause.] In him, all the virtues seemed to be combined in the fairest proportions. The elements were so mixed in him, and his blood and judgment were so commingled, that all the virtues seemed to be the natural result, and to flow spontaneously from the combination, as water from the purest fountain. In him, the exercise of the most exalted virtue required no exertion ; it was a part and parcel of his nature, and of the glorious organization “to which every God had seemed to set his seal.” [Applause.] Where was there any error in him ? He was a man ; and therefore, in all humility, we who share that humanity must acknowledge that he had his imperfections ; but who, through his long and eventful life, can point to an error or to a vice committed, or a duty omitted ? His character was made up and compounded of all the virtues that constitute the hero, patriot, statesman, and benefactor, [cheers,] and all his achievements were but the practical developments of that character and of those virtues. [Applause.] He was the same everywhere—in the camp, in the Cabinet, at Mount Vernon. No difference could be distinguished anywhere. His greatness was of that innate and majestic character that was present with him everywhere. It was that which gave him his dignity, and not the occasional situations or offices which he held under the Government. He dignified office—he elevated the highest rank, military or civil, which he ever held. No rank, military or civil, ever raised him, or could come up to that majesty of character which the God of his nature had implanted in him. [Great cheering.] That was our Washington. He was a firm believer in a Divine Providence, and it belonged to his elevated and majestic mind to be so—a mind that connected itself with the throne of the Deity from which it sprung. His heart

was purified and his motives were elevated by constant recurrence to that Divine assistance which he thought was extended to his country, and to himself in his service of that country. Our history as a people is, to a remarkable extent, a history of providences; and among all the benignities of Providence, in a worldly point of view, I know no greater gift that she has conferred upon us than in the person of Washington himself. [Cheers.] She raised him up at the appointed time. She raised him up at a grand crisis in the affairs of mankind, when the thoughts of men were about taking a new direction; when the old things, the old despotisms, were about to pass away under the influence of a dawning public opinion which was about to re-assert the long lost rights of mankind; when you, a new-born people, for whom this mighty continent had been reserved as the most magnificent land that the Almighty ever prepared for man, had grown to an estate to feel your strength, to know your rights, and to be willing to struggle for them; Washington was raised up to become the great leader of those great popular principles of human rights, and to consecrate them, as it were, by connecting them in his own person with every personal, moral, private, and public virtue—not leaving us to mere idealism, but exhibiting and embodying, in his own venerated and beloved person, all those mighty principles which were necessary to our success and to the establishment of our liberties. He led us triumphantly through a seven years' war; and our glorious Revolution being successfully accomplished, he applied himself, with all his influence and all his wisdom, to secure by free and permanent institutions all the blessings that liberty and independence could confer on his country. Our present Constitution and form of Government were the grand results of his patriotic efforts. A new Government being thus established, he was by the unanimous voice of his country called to the Presidential office, that by his wisdom and influence he might put into practice and consolidate those new and untried institutions, by which all the blessings acquired by the Revolution and contemplated by that Government were to be practically secured to the people of the United States. He served till the success of the experiment was demonstrated. He retired then to his beloved Mount Vernon, and there passed in honored privacy the remainder of his life. Where can another such character be exhibited on the pages of history? Providence intended him for a model. She has made his character cover the whole space of political and of private life. [Applause.] She trained him up in the humblest walks of private life. There he knew the wants and wishes and condition of the humblest of his fellow-citizens. The confidence which he inspired everywhere spread with every step that he advanced in life.

He became commander of the army. With all the military despotism that belongs to such a state, he used his power without the oppression of a human being. During a seven years' war, amid such trials and troubles as no people ever saw, in no exigency, by no extremity, was he driven to the necessity of committing a trespass or wrong upon any man, or any man's property. He needed no act of amnesty afterwards, by the Government, to protect him against personal responsibility which acts of violence might have rendered necessary to others. He led you triumphantly on. He was an example to all military men. He became President. He has left us an example there, to which we look back with filial reverence, and long, long may we do so. [Great applause.]

Before his retirement from office, he made to the People of the United States that "Farewell Address" so familiar to the thoughts of us all. It contains, as he himself said, the advice of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. It was the gathered wisdom of all his life and of all his experience. What a legacy! We rejoice in riches that no nation ever knew before. What are the mines of California, with their perishing gold, to this? You have a legacy left you, in the wisdom of that man, that is above all price. The Romans shouted, the Romans exulted, when Mark Antony told them that Cæsar had left them a few denarii, and the privilege of walking in his gardens. That was the Imperial bequest. How ignoble, how trifling does the Roman seem to you, my countrymen, who exult to-day in the legacy which was left you in the Farewell Address of Washington! [Great applause.] That is imperishable. So long as we remember it, it will render our Government and our liberties imperishable; and when we forget it, it will survive in the memory, I trust in God, of some other people more worthy of it, even if it be to shame this degenerate Republic. [Enthusiastic applause.] That Farewell Address contains wisdom enough, if we but attend to it—contains lessons enough to guide us in all our duties as citizens, and in all our public affairs. [Applause.] There are two subjects which recent occurrences have turned our attention to with particular interest, and which I may be allowed on this occasion to advert to, in no spirit of controversy or of unkindness towards any one, but in that spirit which induces me to desire to see every lesson of Washington daily and constantly, and freshly brought to the mind of every citizen of the United States. To my children they were brought as their first lessons. There is none too old to profit by them, and they cannot be learned too early. You are familiar with that Address, gentlemen, and I will therefore only ask you to allow me to allude to the two subjects upon which it has been peculiarly emphatic in his advice.

he one is to preserve the Union of these states, [loud cheers]—that, he says, is the main pillar of the edifice of our independence and of our liberties; frown down every attempt to bring it into question, much less to avert it; when it is gone, all is gone. Let us heed this lesson, and be careful. I trust in God we have no grounds to apprehend such a degree of oppression as will compel us to raise our suicidal arms for the destruction of this great Government, and of this Union which makes us brethren. [Great applause.] I do not allow my mind to look forward to such a disaster. I will look upon this Union as indissoluble, and as firmly rooted as the mountains of our native land. I will hope so; I will believe so. I will so act, and nothing but a necessity, invincible and overwhelming, can drive me to disunion. This is the sentiment, as I understand it, which Washington inculcates. Thank God, we have every hope of the restoration of every kind feeling now, which made us at times past a united band of brothers from one end of this land to the other. [Loud cheers.]

But there are external dangers, also, against which Washington warns us; and that is the second subject to which I desire to ask your attention. Beware, he says, of the introduction or exercise of a foreign influence among you. [Loud and prolonged cheering.] We are Americans. Washington has taught us, and we have learned to govern ourselves. [Cheers.] If the rest of the world have not yet learned that great lesson, how shall they teach us? Shall they undertake to expound to us the Farewell Address of our Washington, or to influence us to depart from the policy recommended by him? [Great cheering.] We are the teachers, and they have not or they will not learn; and yet they come to teach us. [Here the whole company rose, and gave three tremendous cheers.] Be jealous, he said, of all foreign influence, and enter into entangling alliances with none. Cherish no particular partiality or prejudice for or against any people. [Cheers.] Be just to all—impartial to all. It is folly to expect disinterested favors from any nation. [Great cheering.] That is not the relation or character of nations. Favor is a basis too uncertain upon which to place any steadfast or permanent relations. Justice and the interests of the parties is the only sound and substantial basis for national relations. So said General Washington—so he teaches. He asks, "Why quit our own, to stand on foreign ground?" [Cheers.] Go not abroad to mingle yourselves in the quarrels or wars of other nations. Take care to do them no wrong, but avoid the romantic notion of righting the wrongs of all the world, and resisting by arms the oppression of all. [Great cheering.]

The sword and the bayonet have been useful in defending the rights and liberties of those

who used them, but in what other hands have they ever contributed to promote the cause of freedom or of human rights? [Cheers.] The heart must be prepared for liberty. The understanding must know what it is, and how to value it. Then if you put proper arms into the hands of the nation so imbued, I'll warrant you they will obtain and sustain their freedom. [Applause.] We have given the world an example of that success. But three millions, scattered over a vast territory, opposed to the most powerful enemy on earth, we went triumphantly through our revolution and established our liberties. [Cheers.] But it is said that we have a right to interfere in the affairs of other nations, and in the quarrels of other nations. Why, certainly we have—certainly we have. Any man has the right, if he pleases, to busy himself in the affairs and quarrels of all his neighbors; but he will not be likely to profit by it, and would be called a busy-body for his pains. [Laughter and applause.] We as a nation have a right to decide—and it is always a question of expediency—whether we will or will not interfere in the affairs of other nations. There are cases so connected with our own interests and with the cause of humanity, that interference would be proper. But still it is a question for the sound discretion of this people, a question always of expediency, whether you will or will not interfere; and it is just because it is a question of that character, and because our passions and sympathies may often tempt us to err upon it, that Washington has made it the subject of this emphatic admonition. [Applause.] It is not because we have not the right to interfere, but it is because we have the right, and because we are surrounded by temptations—by the temptations of generous hearts and noble principles—to transcend the limits of prudence and of policy, and to interfere in the affairs of our neighbors, that he has admonished us. [Applause.] Washington, with that forecast and that prophetic spirit which constituted a part of his character, saw through all this. He knew the warm and generous natures of his countrymen. He knew their susceptibility, and he knew where the danger of error was; and it is there that his wisdom has erected, as far as his advice can do it, a bulwark for our protection. [Applause.] He tells you, "stand upon your own ground." [Renewed applause.] That is the ground to stand upon.

What can you do by interference? Argument is unnecessary. The name of Washington ought to be authority—prophetic, oracular authority for us. Is our mission in this world to interfere by arms? It is but little now, comparatively, of good that the bayonet and the sword can do. The ploughshare does a thousand times more than either. [Great cheering.] The time was when arms were powerful instruments of oppression; but they cannot do

much now, unless they are aided by the mercenary and degenerate spirit of the people over whom they are brandished. What could we do by armed interference in European politics? So mighty at home, what could we do abroad? How would our eagles pine and die if carried abroad, without the auspices of Washington, and against his advice, to engage in foreign wars of intervention, in distant regions of despotism, where we could no longer feed them from the plenteous tables of our liberty? [Enthusiastic applause.] We can do nothing there. We can do nothing in that way. I am not one of those who shrink from this thing simply because blood is to be shed. I have seen war. I have voted for maintaining it. I have contributed to maintain it. I pretend to no exquisite sensibility upon the subject of shedding blood where our public interests or our public glory call upon my fellow-citizens to lay down their lives and shed their blood. [Applause.] But I do not wish to see them depart from those great and sure principles of policy which I am certain will lead my country to a greatness which will give to her world a power beyond that of armies in distant parts of the world. [Cheers.]

Our mission, so far as it concerns our distant brethren, is not a mission of arms. We are here to do what Washington advised us to do—take care of our Union, have a proper respect for the Constitution and laws of our country, cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, do equal justice to all nations, and thereby set an example to them, and show forth in ourselves the blessings of self-government, to all the world. [Applause.] Thus you will best convince mankind. Seeing you prosper, they will follow your example, and do likewise. It is by that power of opinion, by that power of reformation, that you can render the mightiest and greatest service that is in your power, towards the spread of liberty all over the world. Adopt the policy of interference, and what is its consequence? War, endless war. If one interferes, another will interfere, and another, and another, and so this doctrine for the protection of republican liberty and human rights, results in a perpetual, wide-spread, and wider-spreading war, until all mankind, overcome by slaughter and ruin, shall fall down bleeding and exhausted. [Applause.] I can see no other end, or good in it, unless you suppose that nations will consent that one alone shall erect itself into the arbiter and judge of the conduct of all the other nations, and that it alone shall interfere to execute what it alone determines to be national law. That alone can prevent wide-spread devastation from the adoption of this principle of intervention.

I beg pardon for the time I have occupied, but I hope that I may be excused for saying that I feel safer, I feel that my country is safer, while pursuing the policy of Washington, than

in making any new experiments in politics, upon any new expositions of Washington's legacy and advice to the American People. [Great cheering.] I want to stand *super antiquas vias*—upon the old road that Washington travelled, and that every President, from Washington to Fillmore, has travelled. [Great cheering.] This policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries has been maintained and sanctified by all our great Magistrates. [Renewed cheering.] I may be defective in what is called "the spirit of the age," for aught I know; but I acknowledge that I feel safer in this ancient and well-tried policy than in the novelties of the present day.

And now, in conclusion, I hope I may be excused for saying that it has been the effort, and the honest effort, of the present Administration—I ask no compliment for it—to follow in the track that Washington marked out, and, with whatever unequal steps, it has endeavored to follow after him. That has been the model upon which Mr. Fillmore has endeavored, as it regarded all foreign countries, to fashion the course of policy of his Administration. [Great applause.]

Second toast:

The President of the United States. [Applause.]

MUSIC—President's March.

Third toast:

The Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the Framers of the Constitution of the United States—They had the resolution to assert the true principles of Government, and the valor and wisdom to establish them.

This toast was received with loud and enthusiastic applause, and drunk standing.

MUSIC—Hail Columbia.

Fourth toast:

The Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States—The faithful discharge of the obligations of the former, essential to the preservation of the latter.

MUSIC—Star-spangled Banner.

Fifth toast:

The Mission of the United States—To secure peace, prosperity, and happiness, at home; and, by the influence of example, to establish the great truth abroad, that man is capable of self-government. [Great applause.]

MUSIC—Home, Sweet Home.

The Hon. T. H. BAYLY, of Virginia, being loudly called for, rose and said:

MR. PRESIDENT: He would be a bold man, who, on an occasion like this, could rise with composure to speak after such a display as we have just witnessed from my friend before me, (Mr. Crittenden.) I should not venture upon it, if it were not that I know I have been selected to respond to the sentiment which you have just offered. What has he left anybody to say? He has left nothing—not even the toast that

ou have propounded. As eloquently as the past itself, he has enforced its sentiment. From the inmost recesses of my heart, and from the best reflections of my mind, I respond to it. In my opinion, it embodies the true policy of our country, looking not only to our own prosperity, but it avows the policy which will most certainly lead to the diffusion of republican principles, and the establishment of free institutions throughout Christendom. [Applause.] There are, sir, but two ways by which the rights of the subject have ever been enlarged. The one has been by the concession of these rights by rulers; an example of which we have in the great charter of King John, extorted from him by the sturdy barons at Runnymede. The other, where those rights are achieved by force of arms, an example of which we have in the success of our Revolution. [Applause.] These are the two modes by which alone the rights of man have been enlarged; and what have been the obstacles to their extension by the one mode or the other? This thing of government is not a matter of sentiment alone, it is a business transaction. The great mass of mankind refer that form of government which will best secure to them life, liberty, prosperity, and the pursuit of happiness. [Applause.] This being the desire of every people, the difficulty in establishing free institutions has been their distrust of the capacity of mankind for self-government. Teach the world that it is safe for mankind to be trusted with his own government, and the world will declare in favor of self-government. [Great applause.] Why, this is not a matter of speculation. Every man, no matter who he is, will say at once, that he prefers to take part in a business which so much concerns him, if he believes it is safe to concede to others the exercise of the same privileges which he would desire to exercise for himself. It has been the distrust of the capacity of man to govern himself, wisely, that has interposed obstacles to extending human freedom by either of these modes I have mentioned. In either of the modes, the difficulty has been the same. The difficulty has been a wide-spread distrust, not only among rulers, but with the masses themselves, growing out of the history of the past, or, rather, I should say, a disbelief that the good of the greatest number would be promoted by extending to them the leading maxim of our system. Do you want to encourage the establishment of free institutions by revolution? Where revolution is necessary, do you want to raise up armed men? Do you want to raise money—do you want to acquire the means of successful revolution? If you do, let the world see by your success that it is a safe thing, in view of the great ends of government, to have free institutions. Do you desire to disarm despots who resist the concession of rights to their subjects, take from them the plea that

it will not promote the people's good to concede them. Our experiment, if we show it to be successful, will do more, even where revolution is necessary, to raise up armed men and furnish "material aid" to sustain the cause of freedom in Europe, than any direct assistance which we can afford. There is where I, the friend of liberty, regulated by law, stand; and I hope it is where America stands. Sir, I have some right to feel on an occasion when homage is to be paid to the memory of Washington. I do not represent the county of his nativity, but I do represent the county where he found the partner of his bosom. I represent Williamsburg, where his civic virtues were early seen, and, more than all, that marked modesty of his character, on a memorable occasion, was remarkably displayed. I represent Yorktown, where the war of the Revolution ended. [Cheers.] I have strolled about its precincts. I have stood upon nearly every foot of ground where the American and British armies rested. I have been to the very spot where tradition says Cornwallis's sword was surrendered. [Applause.] But that is now a matter of doubtful tradition. Notwithstanding the pledge of Congress to commemorate that spot by a monument, no stone marks the place. The expense that has been incurred in the glorification of a foreigner who never visited our shores from any regard for us, would have raised a monument to have marked the place through all times, and kept fresh in the memory of each generation the event which made it memorable. [Great applause.] Yet it is recorded only in the memory of a few, and in a short time it will be a matter of doubt where that spot was. But, gentlemen, I shall not talk about Yorktown. The glory of Yorktown, except in its results, is not probably greater than the glory of other battle-fields. The Old World has its Thermopylæ; why, then, should I (though its humble representative) talk about Yorktown? But it is proper that I should, on this occasion, talk about Washington and his Farewell Address. For, although the Old World has its Thermopylæ, yet the Old World has not a Washington, nor such a legacy as that which we should all treasure up in our heart of hearts. The Old World has not such a legacy bequeathed by its Father to his Country, for the Old World never had a Washington, recognised by all as the Father of his Country, to transmit it. [Applause.] It is our peculiar pride, boast, and glory, that although they have other things in common with us, they have not a Washington in common with us. They have not the Farewell Address of a Washington to enlighten them by its wisdom.

I never heard anything more beautiful in my life than what fell from my friend (Mr. Crittenden) in respect to Washington. He left scarcely a trait in his character that he did not touch

with a pencil that would have adorned it, if that had been possible. But there was one thing that he did not advert to. After Washington had left the cares of statesmanship, after he had quietly reposed himself upon a pinnacle of glory more elevated than any other man had ever attained, his country got into trouble with France, and it was supposed that we would be involved in war, where again we would have need of his prudence and wisdom. A provisional army was to be raised, and Washington was assigned a place inferior in grade to the one he had previously occupied in the Revolutionary army; having been a General, Congress made him a Lieutenant-General only. He was offered an inferior position to the one he had resigned; yet who ever heard from Washington, who ever heard from anybody that had his confidence, that his pride was wounded? That he felt any petty mortification? All he knew was, that his country desired his services, and they were at his country's command. [Great applause.]

Sixth toast:

The Judiciary—The surest safeguard of constitutional liberty.

Judge WAYNE, of the Supreme Court of the United States, being called for, responded as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I should, indeed, be insensible if I did not answer your call, and did not regard with proper feelings and with thankfulness your notice of the Judiciary of the United States. I thank you, gentlemen. Will you permit me to say something more, before I take my seat. [Cries of "Go on, go on, go on."] I do not mean to make an argument, but I have a hint or two to offer for your consideration. I understand from your invitation to me to be your guest upon this occasion, that we have met together to commemorate the virtues and the principles of Washington. Why, gentlemen, his principles were his virtues, and make the largest part of his greatness. Separate the recollection of his civic triumphs from his military achievements, though there would be enough for us to admire, injustice would be done to his memory, and the world would have but an imperfect view of his character. The soldier's services should never be disregarded by his countrymen, wherever they have been rendered—either in our Revolutionary war, or in the wars since, in which our country has been engaged.

The man who perils his life in his country's cause, and wastes his constitution in the face of the enemy, deserves the tribute of our admiration and the expression of our gratitude. [Great applause.] But, gentlemen, need I say more of the military achievements of Washington than to remind you that Frederick the Great, the greatest intellect of his day, in admiration of the virtues and exploits of Wash-

ington, sent to him a sword with this tribute engraved upon it: "From the oldest to the greatest General in the world." [Great applause.] No, gentlemen, military virtues are not to be disregarded—let us honor those in whom we must recognise them. [Great applause.] We recollect the achievements of such men because they confer glory upon our country in the vindication of her rights. Where is the American who can be insensible to the soldier's prowess or the General's skill? [Applause.]

Gentlemen, I have said that the principle of Washington were his virtues. They have uniformly been the basis upon which has rested the policy of our country in its foreign relations. And, after all, notwithstanding our party differences since his day, his wisdom may be said to have enlightened the path of each succeeding President. It has been our policy to receive and to succor the distressed of all nations, and to welcome the oppressed from wherever they may have come. We have at all times sympathized with those who at any time have struggled for freedom from any and every kind of oppression; and we have never failed to acknowledge, as soon as the laws of nations permitted it to be done, the nationality of any people by whom it was so far established as to make it improbable that it would be lost. And this we have done whether they were original colonies which separated themselves from the countries to which they had belonged, or if it was for the renovation of Greece from its degradation into an independent Kingdom. We have never been backward as a nation in recognizing any people who have thrown off oppression; and our public press, the watchful guardians of our own freedom, have always sustained our Government in such a generous course. Beyond that we have never gone, nor should we ever go, unless it be in some case where it shall be found that the oppressor's ambition may be extended to an invasion of the rights and interests of our own country. [Great applause.] Pardon the presumption, gentlemen, but we have it not in our power to do so constitutionally. [Loucheers.] I mean to say that our Constitution forbids it. [Renewed cheering.] We may legislatively, sympathize with the oppressed condition of any people, whether they are actually struggling to relieve themselves from it or only beginning to do so. And for doing so no other nation, however we may be connected with it, by treaty or commercial relations, has a right to take offence, and to make it a cause of war with us, or a cause for the interruption of diplomatic intercourse. Conventional obligations between nations do not extend to a repression of generous sympathies, nor forbid the expression of national gratification, when any people have or are trying to assimilate their in-

tutions to our own. The Monarchs of Europe have never failed to do so. Its history has ways shown, and does at this day show, that their great effort has been to repress republican institutions, and to sustain each other in monarchical organization. What are those congratulations which pass between the Monarchs of Europe, upon the accession of one of them to a throne, or upon the birth of a Prince, than congratulations to each other that monarchy is triumphant, or that a child has been born to wear the Crown. We do not complain of this, and, as a Government, have no right to do so. But, as a Government, and a free people, we have a right to rejoice and to express our joy in every way we shall choose, when a people who, in our opinion, have not constitutional government, shall strive to gain it, with an intention to make our institutions the platform of their own.

In all that I have said we may do, there is only sympathy, or the acknowledgment of nationality, after its occurrence, just in the way that the laws of nations permit and require it to be done. But I have said that constitutionally we cannot legislate further, unless it shall be under the war power of the Constitution. It is true that the President and Senate may make a treaty promising intervention, but before that can be carried into operation it is necessary that a sanction should be given to it by the House of Representatives, unless intervention can be made effective without pecuniary aid. That cannot be, unless the word has not an acknowledged meaning, or unless it shall be used without an intention to carry it into effect.

Intervention is a term having, both in politics and law, a distinct meaning, and in both precisely the same. It frequently occurs in both. It is the act of a third person, or a State, which makes him or the State a party to a controversy already existing between two, and which is done to aid one or the other of them, or for the intervenor's advantage. It is not the mere expression of a sentiment or an appeal in favor of one party or the other, but a purpose, to be carried out by actual interposition. This being so, under our system it must always lead to war. *Simul et semel*, it is war. And, being war, I call upon him, whether he be a liberal or a strict constructionist of the Constitution, to tell me, how such a war fulfills the intention of it; or how Congress gets the power to transcend the purpose of its framers, that is declared to be, "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

A preamble to an instrument shows, and is used to show, the intention of the parties to it, though it may not be used to enlarge a power

expressed in its text. If the occasion makes it necessary for us to go to war, Congress may make it. But if it does so for intervention, I have shown that, under our system, intervention can only be made when it involves war. I know that I shall be told that we have a treaty with a foreign power, in which we have agreed to defend their frontiers from the incursions of Indians, and that imposes upon us obligations which are not to be disregarded. But if it is to be done by the use of our troops within its territories, as it would involve expenditures beyond the appropriations of a peace establishment, it must have the sanction of the House of Representatives, or he who unsheathes the sword, or orders it to be done, does it without a constitutional right; for it will be war, and Congress can only make war. War, when it is made, enters into the dwelling of every man; but before he shall be permitted to do so, every householder and voter in the land should have an opportunity, by his representative, to bar his entry. I use professional terms. Let him, who can, find others which will more strongly illustrate the fact or express the thought. [Cheers.] Intervention means nothing, unless it means war. I have said that we may, legislatively, express in resolutions our feelings in respect to the condition of a people who are striving to obtain a separate nationality from its tributary connection with another power. That it may be done, to operate upon the rest of the world in favor of such a people, and with a view of raising public sentiment at home to the exigency. But beyond that, it is not in our power to go. There is no authority in the Constitution permitting us to go further. Upon this point I have endeavored to give the most liberal interpretation of the Constitution, without being able to find authority for it; and my conclusion does not place me with those who restrict themselves in the interpretation of the Constitution to its letter. I know not how we can, under any circumstances, declare for intervention in the contests between nations, or between portions of the same nation, unless we shall be prepared to say, there shall be war. This is not the time for us to be called upon to do so, either practically or by speculations upon the doctrine of intervention, when, for the four last years in Europe, there has been no footprint of the march of liberty, no formation of constitutional governments by the co-operation of any portion of its people, and when usurpation regulates government by its own will, backed by a regular soldiery, to the exclusion of the counteracting force of a national guard or militia.

Yes, gentlemen, the principles of Washington, and such as are expressed by him in his Farewell Address, make his public virtues and his civic triumphs. Without them, we would admire, but not love or revere. It is because

he acted out in his administration, and indicated in his Farewell Address, what our foreign policy should be, that we do love and revere his memory. If we follow him from the battle-fields of the Revolution, throughout the continuance of our Confederation, until the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and throughout the whole of his administration, we shall find that no one had such an agency as he had, in placing us in the condition in which we are, and in giving to us the political blessings and prosperity enjoyed by us as a nation. His first and greatest object, dearer to his heart than any other, was to put the States into a more national and effective union than they were under the Articles of Confederation. His greatest solicitude, after it had been done, was to preserve it. Besides the prosperity which he knew it would give, he looked upon the Continent, plainly foreseeing, if we were but true to ourselves, the acquisitions of territory which would be made. And though they were not made in his time, he saw in the energy and increase of a people, who had gone with him through a seven years' war for independence, that their posterity would become a people who would not be content, and would not be satisfied with what were then our boundaries in this hemisphere. He looked to the Mississippi and beyond it, with the hope that our institutions would be extended to the Pacific. Unless that union had been formed, we should have had no power under the Confederation to have asserted our rights to Oregon. We should never have acquired Louisiana or Florida. And Utah, New Mexico, and California, would not have formed, as they now do, portions of our great Empire. What means should we have had, by contributions to our treasury from the Legislatures of the States, to make such acquisitions? More than that, where would have been those States and their people in the valley of the Mississippi, and beyond it, now doubling our original number? They would have been parts of some foreign Empire, or they might have been wrested from them by the enterprise and adventurous spirit of our own people. But it is much more than probable, that if the last had taken place, that, instead of being parts of the United States, they would have been distinct and separate Governments. Where, then, would have been the influences which we now have to impress the world with our institutions?—their fitness for millions under one Government, making us an example which nations look at with wonder, and not without a proper appreciation of our future power? All this the policy of Washington has done for us. Can we abandon it now without subjecting ourselves to the charge of ingratitude to his memory? Do it, if you please, and bear the imputation. But you will not do so, gentlemen. We are not ready to change the name

of this city, to call it INTERVENTION. We are not ready to withhold our contributions from that monument, within our sight, which is no rising, to as high a pinnacle as human mechanism has ever achieved. No; before do so, let us satirize the artists of our country, Stuart, Trumbull, and Peale, for those semblances of his face, which adorn our houses and our public buildings. Turn them, in our parlors and halls of legislation, to the wall, if we shall have lost the feelings which induce us to put them there. [Applause.]

Burn into lime, to stimulate the fertility of your fields, that marble likeness of him, a magnificent allegory of a single idea in his life, which the genius of Greenough has added to the triumphs of modern statuary, and which you have placed in the grounds of the Capitol for the admiration of his countrymen. Block up the ways to Mount Vernon, that there may be no other pilgrimages there. Tell young American mothers, that the name of George Washington is not to be given to their children in Christian baptism. Grieve the venerable man who sits near me, [Mr. Custis,] now the only living person who was the inmate of his family, by telling him that he has been imposing upon us, in his poetry and in his prose, fictitious representations of the virtues, the civil triumphs and the greatness of Washington. Aye! do more: call Marshall an impostor for having written his life, holding him up to the world for his wisdom, his goodness, and his greatness, and as an example to all men who may be placed in the Chief Magistracies of nations. Tear from your statute book, you repeated declarations that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," for, if we abandon his policy he will no longer have a sanctuary there. See that history has falsely recorded his fame, to stay and to shame the usurper in his giant march, who audaciously tramples upon human rights in violation of a constitutional oath under the pretence of preserving them, and who has no larger view of human government than that which separates the people from themselves; making of a part of them a soldiery, to enforce with their bayonets a Constitution upon the rest. All this must be done before we can desert those principles which we find in his legacy, and which have guided our country to the greatness which it has. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, I have spoken to you in the language of my temper and my principles, and would say much more appropriate to this occasion, if I did not know that I was making a trespass upon the time and patience of others, who are yet to address you. [Cries of "Go on, go on."] I feel that the lateness of the hour admonishes me not to say more. [Go on, go on.] Of late years I have not been accustomed to address public assemblies. [Go on, go on.]

one can sympathize more truly than I do in the cause which has brought us together this night. I came here meaning to do so. For I not wish to be misunderstood upon a point involving, as I think it does, the continuance of the Union, which, if carried out, as it has been presented in popular assemblies, cannot but have a disastrous influence upon our destiny in the end, should it involve us in foreign wars—more so, than any other question which has ever agitated the mind of the American people. Intervention, as it was first presented to our notice, in contrast with the principles of Washington, was to be an intermeddling interference in the revolutions which may occur in another hemisphere. We are not united, as a nation, for any such purpose. Having made ourselves free and independent, we became united to ensure such happiness as, in God's Providence, might be brought out of our favorable locality. This has been realized with an almost miraculous increase; and that man who shall jeopard the institutions which we have, and the blessings which they give, by an interference with the concerns of other nations, will be no blessing in his country, to our own. [Cheers.] But, gentlemen, no man or set of men, either by surprise or combination, can produce such a result. The people have already determined otherwise. In their ardor of the love of liberty and of American feeling, they may desire to extend our principles to all the nations of the earth, and if this they are not to blame. But the generous impulses of high intellect may mislead it sometimes into error, without carrying with it the imputation of a fault, and it ought not to be condemned too severely. But let me remind those who indulge the feelings of which I have just spoken, that this is not a time when the United States should be urged by any one to connect itself with European politics. It is a time of revolutions there. We know not in what they will end. But we do know, that unless all recollections of constitutional government are lost, that there must be convulsions to regain the establishment of them. When they occur, those who struggle for freedom will have our sympathies, against any despotism which shall substitute its own power for the right which all men have, as a political community, to fix the principles upon which their Government shall be established. [Cheers.] Gentlemen, I conclude by giving you a toast, which I believe to be suitable to the occasion :

The Congressional Banquet of 1852, in celebration of the Birthday of Washington—It will aid to make the hearts of the American people, a sanctuary at a fortress for his virtues, from which native and ruralized citizens may combat for his principles, against the sophism of "INTERVENTION for NON-INTERVENTION."

[Great applause.]

Seventh toast :

The Army of the United States—May it ever be actuated by the spirit, and governed by the principles, of him who was first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

MUSIC—Hail to the Chief.

Gen. SCOTT, being loudly called for to respond to this toast, rose, and was received with loud and continued cheers. He said :

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: For the honor conferred upon that branch of the service to which I belong, I return you my humble, but heartfelt thanks, and I am sure that I have not a brother officer or a brother soldier belonging to the army of this day who will not feel himself proud to be remembered by this distinguished company on this most distinguished occasion. It has ever been the pride and glory of that army, since I have had any knowledge of it, to walk, at an humble distance no doubt, but to walk in the footsteps of that most glorious band of patriots that ever existed, or that ever fought for Independence and Liberty—the soldiers of the Revolutionary Army. [Cheers.] It was so in the war of 1812-'15, and in a more recent war to the south of this—I mean that with Mexico. Upon all occasions, that army has marched and fought with a lively recollection of its duties to the country, and with a lively desire in an humble degree to emulate the great deeds and great virtues of their Revolutionary predecessors. [Great applause.] By that army—let me say—I do not mean simply the regular troops, that branch to which I more particularly belong, but I mean the volunteers also—the volunteers that have been embodied with the regular troops, in the same fields of battle. I think they have not failed in their duty to their country. Nay, our country has been pleased to mark many particular acts of that combined body of men—the regulars and the volunteers—and to hold them up to the country and to posterity as worthy of remembrance. [Enthusiastic cheers.] We have been infinitely thankful for these complimentary notices. I believe I can truly say that no officer or soldier who has belonged to that army, since my knowledge of it, has ever yet thought that he approached, except at a very great distance, "with many a length between," the services of the Revolutionary Army. [Applause.] In peace, I think the history of our country will testify that the army has been remarkable for its devotion to law and order. I am sure that every officer and every soldier with whom I have been intimately connected has prided himself as much in the observance of law and order in time of peace, as he has prided himself in marching upon the public enemy. In war, our object has been to conquer the earliest peace by beating the enemy; and that object has also been attained. [Renewed applause.]

What makes the great and distinguishing difference between all the armies since the treaty of Independence and the American army which preceded that treaty of Independence has been this: All human merit is to be judged of by sacrifices and sufferings; and the army of the Revolution, in this respect, stands far beyond the reach of all soldiers who have belonged to our country since that period. The condition of those troops is well portrayed in the noble ballad which, when speaking of our army immediately before the battle of Trenton, says:

“On Christmas day, in '76,
Our ragged troops, with bayonets fixed,
To Trenton marched away.”

But, notwithstanding their ragged condition, and the indifference of their arms and accoutrements, the world knows the triumph which they achieved. That army served without clothing, or with the scantiest supply imaginable. Food was wanting, their ammunition was indifferent, and their arms insufficient. Their pay was precarious, and in wretched paper of but little value. But the American army, in my day—from the year 1812 down to the present time—has had no such suffering to encounter; and thus it is that we have always given the palm, in our own minds and in our own conversation, to the heroes of our glorious Revolution. A few words more, Mr. President. This is a great and sacred day in the estimation of every soldier with whom I have been associated in my long military career. I have never been at a military post on the 22d of February, when that day was not duly honored to the extent of our ability, by the firing of cannon, the parade of troops, the display of banners, and by all the festivities proper to the occasion. I have myself participated in the celebration of this day in the principal capital of Europe, and I gloried in it. I felt my patriotism much stimulated and much exalted by the devotion which I paid to this day, in common with many of my countrymen who were with me. But it has fallen to my lot also, with a large American army, to celebrate this day in another foreign capital—the capital of Mexico. [Loud cheers.] Not to alarm the Mexicans, whom it was our interest as well as our duty to conciliate, we took care to advertise in all the papers, in advance, that the 22d of February was the second great anniversary of our nation, and that therefore we should pay it all proper honors, by the firing of cannon, parade of troops, and by other joyous manifestations—fire-works, &c. And upon that day, after the proceedings and ceremonies were over, some five hundred of my brother officers—more than half of them volunteers—met in my rooms, where I had the glory to remind them that on that day 116 years before “a man child had been born into the world,” which has since been filled with the fame of

his great deeds and great virtues, and the remembrance of which can never be forgotten [Great applause.] May I be permitted, conclusion, to offer a toast, the hint of which have taken from the cenotaph of Sir Christopher Wren. I give you—

The Memory of Washington—Do we seek a monument—behold this Capitol, and the thirty-one sovereign States which it represents.

The General here took his seat, amid the most enthusiastic cheers.

Eighth toast:

The Navy—It has a Christian errand: “Peace on earth—good will towards men;” commerce with all nations—interference with none.

Music—Columbia Forever.

The PRESIDENT, having announced this toast, resumed his seat, and waited for some one to respond to it. Finally the Committee informed him that no one would do so, and requested him to proceed with the next toast. Among the calls to read the next toast, the PRESIDENT said

GENTLEMEN: I know very well that I am now expected to read the next regular toast, but I have just given the navy as a toast, and wish to see if some one better able than myself will not say a word or two about our gallant navy.

[Several voices: “Say it yourself,” “Stockton!” “Stockton!” and cheers.]

I will say it myself, if no better man will do it. I have spent most of my days with “them boys,” “their sentiments are my sentiments;” [laughter and cheers;] they have stood up for me in all winds and in all weathers, and I’ll stand up for them at all times and in all companies.

Gentlemen, we have heard something this night relative to the history of these United States—of our Government—our institutions—our power, wealth, happiness—and about our judiciary, and our army—but not one syllable about the obligations which all these interests and results are under to the sailors, [great cheering;] and now, I ask you what would have become of “the whole party,” if it had not been for your navy. [Great cheering.] You may have forgotten the debt due from civilization, literature, and even Christianity, to the sailors of the country. But can you forget the time when this Capital shook with fear of British arms? Can you forget when your Executive, terror-stricken by the idea of British invincibility on the ocean, ordered your ships to be laid up—do you forget that they went to sea without orders, and that, before they came back, they hauled down St. George’s ensign from the mast-head of that imperial boast? [Great and enthusiastic cheering.] Do you forget the disasters of your army at this time, (1)

General will excuse me)—how General Hull was taken, how Winchester was defeated, and the whole army pretty much used up? [Cheering.] Especially do you forget who broke the harm of that boasted invincibility, and forced back the tide of disaster, and made the whole country ring with joy and revelry? [Great cheering.] If you have forgotten it, I have not; it was Hull and the Constitution; and I am proud to stand up amongst the citizens of this Republic, and to say that the navy shall never want a man to speak for them whilst I can use my tongue. [Cheering.]

But I do not mean to commit them to this toast in its broadest sense, because it may be, under some circumstances, their duty to interfere to save their countrymen from violence or wrong, even if they get a fight by it. [Loud cheers and laughter.] Your commerce ought no longer to be spoliated, but they seek no foreign alliances. They want no alliances.

In your war of the Revolution, likewise, your sailors gained imperishable laurels; and I claim to say a word for the sailors of those days, who knew no fear. Your Revolutionary navy was a most valuable and remarkable arm of offensive war. The only thing that concerned them was to find the enemy. They disregarded the number of men or guns. When they saw an enemy's ship, they captured her without asking any questions, [cheers,] as the history of those times will show. Look over Cooper's Naval History—but nobody reads the history of the navy—nobody cares for the history of the navy. The recent gallant deeds of the army have overshadowed it. [Cries of "Not a bit of it," and tremendous cheering.] The smoke from your guns in eastern Mexico formed such a cloud that you could not see the sailor army that conquered California, [great cheering,] and the roar of congratulations and honors (all well deserved) since bestowed on our soldiers has prevented you from hearing of the sufferings and heroism of your sailors in California. You have never seen your sailors marching and counter-marching—forming lines and hollow squares. Well, it's a sight, and I hope that some of you may be here to see it on the next occasion. I wish the General could have seen that army. [Cheering.] It beat the Revolutionary army and all other armies ever mustered in the field. [Cheers.] There never has been, FOR LOOKS AND ARMS AND CLOTHES, such an army as that commanded by General Stockton, in California, since the days of Falstaff. [Great and enthusiastic cheering.] They marched and fought without shoes, and I might almost say, without clothes, but I believe they had trowsers. The revolutionary army never did that, nor did the Mexican army. [Laughter.] Besides, they had to get their food from the enemy without money or without price, but I don't think they beat the

American army in Mexico at that. Now, this marching all day and laying down on the cold ground at night, with the softest stone they could find for a pillow, was rather romantic for sailors, especially when they had to go without their grog. They don't belong to temperance societies—they don't go for the "Maine liquor law." [Cheers, and laughter.] The General has said, (and I believe it, not only because he has stated it, but from my own appreciation of his distinguished merit and the honor and bravery of the army,) that they never compared themselves with the army of the Revolution. Well, I cannot go quite so far; I cannot say so much for the sailor-army. The truth is, as soldiers, they had a great opinion of themselves as well as of their General. They had a notion at one time to walk over to Mexico and take the city, Scott, Taylor, and all hands. [Cheers, and laughter.] But, gentlemen, although they considered themselves the best soldiers in the world, and their General no mean person, yet, drunk or sober, there was one man who they always insisted was a head and shoulders taller than any other man, living or dead, and that man was our beloved and immortal Washington. [Cheering.] There is no denying that; they did give up to General Washington. [Great cheering.] I have seen them on horses (and if you never have seen a sailor on horseback, you ought to see him there) riding or rather reeling through the streets at San Francisco, swearing that there never was in this wide world "such a General as their General, EXCEPT GENERAL WASHINGTON." [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Now gentlemen, nine cheers for the American Navy.

Nine hearty cheers were given for the navy, and three more for "their General."

Ninth toast:

Intervention—We are not to be deceived by artful definitions. Our true policy is, "Friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

This toast was received with tremendous enthusiasm.

MUSIC BY THE BAND.

Mr. TOOMBS, who was loudly called for, rose and said:

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I congratulate you that the particular duty assigned to me has been so well—so much better than I could have performed it—performed by another. In illustrating the virtues and policy of Washington, our distinguished friend, Mr. Crittenden, to whom you and I, and all of us, listened with so much pleasure, has nearly exhausted the particular branch of the subject which was assigned to myself. But, sir, inspired by the example of some of my friends, upon such an

occasion, calling for the American feeling of all of us, I will offer some suggestions upon which arguments may be built. I will not offer to this enlightened assembly arguments in favor of this policy of Washington. Its wisdom is vindicated by its results. Liberty, peace, prosperity, and national greatness, are its fruits. I am content to follow where he leads. I am content to give full effect to the principles and policy of his Farewell Address, that great legacy which he has left to his countrymen and to mankind, solely for the reasons upon which he based them. [Great cheering.] I say that I heartily approve the sentiment contained in the toast you have just read, both upon authority and principle. It was announced and practiced upon by the Father of his Country, whom it delights us all so much to honor. It is clothed in the terse, vigorous, and concise language of one of the most illustrious of American statesmen, who embodied the popular voice of America in the Declaration of American Independence. It contains the corner stone of America's foreign policy — the wisdom of Washington, clothed in the language of Jefferson. Amid all the conflicts of party, all the changes of foreign and domestic policy to which we have been subject, this has hitherto escaped innovation. It has been strictly and firmly pursued by all parties and every administration. It has not only never been departed from, but it never has been assailed until within the last few months; and then it is worthy of remembrance, and from the bottom of my heart I rejoice in the fact, that this first assault upon the doctrine of Washington was not by an American. [Great cheering.] It was by a European who seeks to seduce you from the policy of the Father of his Country. [Renewed cheering.] He can have no response from an American heart. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

Sir, this great principle had become an axiom in American politics. No man controvected it. No man disputed it. All America assented, and mankind approved. [Cheers.] It remained for the chief of an unsuccessful revolution, who abandoned the cause it was his duty to die for, to make this assault. [Great cheering.] The chief of a great revolution cannot afford to survive its defeat. [More cheering.] He who assumes the high trust of overturning a Government and establishing the liberties of a people, stands pledged to mankind for success or the grave. [Renewed cheering.] He cannot redeem himself or his country by the pence or the generous sympathy of foreign countries. The work is too great for such means as these. The regeneration of a nation must be her own work. [Tremendous cheering for some moments.]

Sir, I approve of Washington's policy, first, because *it is his policy*; and secondly, because it is a sound policy, a true policy, a just policy.

Its soundness, its truth, its justice, are vindicated by our own experience of sixty years. We have prospered. We have risen from a small and inconsiderable power, or, you may say, from no power at all, to the position of one of the first powers of the world. Neither this policy of ours, nor its antagonist, is fully defined by the terms "intervention and non-intervention." Washington's policy was a wise and enlightened, and comprehensive policy. His object was that to which his whole life had been devoted, to protect and to perpetuate the liberty and independence of his country. The special dangers against which he warned his countrymen were "political connection" with European Governments, "implicating ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships and enmities," quitting "our own to stand on foreign ground," "interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe," "entangling our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, *interest*, humor or caprice," subjecting "the will and policy" of this country "to the will and policy" of other countries. He negatives the reasoning as well as the fact of entangling our country in European politics. His argument answers all the plausible fallacies in favor of a crusade for pulling down despots or building up republics and asserts clearly and distinctly our duty to act justly and impartially towards all nations no matter what may be their form of government—towards all belligerents, no matter what may be their cause of quarrel. He sought to place his country in a position, where neither entangled by foreign alliances; nor committed with foreign politics or interest, she might on all occasions and in every emergency, freely adopt that policy which might be best calculated to protect her own rights, maintain her own interests, and promote her own happiness. If it be necessary, to secure these great ends, to interfere in the affairs of other nations, then it is not only our right but our duty to interfere. [Applause.] But that interference must not be as an intermeddler in the affairs of others, but as a party with rights to assert and interests to maintain. [Renewed applause.] I have said this was American policy. I consider it no small honor to my country that it is so. I have shown its American origin. I have shown you the position of American statesmen. History will tell you of its antagonism to the diplomacy of the Old World. It was a policy that they did not practice—above and beyond all their miserable schemes of overreaching each other, all their selfish combinations for personal and family aggrandizement at the cost of justice and of right. It was based upon the great principle that, while it was the duty of American statesmen to direct its foreign policy

properly with reference to the interests, honor, safety, and rights of America, [cheers,] yet that its fundamental principle was impartiality and justice to all the nations of the earth. This was the new testament of diplomacy which the New offered to the Old World. [Great applause.]

I have told you that our experience for sixty years has illustrated this policy, and mark you, my friends, we have had experience on both sides; we have had experience in intervention and entangling alliances, of binding our policy to European policy, and Washington struggled through the whole course of his administration, tied down and restricted by the contract we had entered into, in the darkest perils of our Revolution. It was the price of National Independence; it came near strangling its own offspring.

The French treaty was the most difficult question of Washington's administration. His great struggle was to preserve the faith of the country and the safety of the country. They would have been incompatible in any other hands than his own.

It was in the year 1798 that the Congress of the United States determined to strike the treaty of 1778 from our statute book; to cut the knot they could not untie, and to disentangle America from European alliances. [Applause.] This is a great fact in our foreign policy. By the treaty of 1778, we entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with France; we guarantied her West Indian possessions. She went to war with England; these possessions became endangered; she demanded the guarantee; compliance became impossible, without national ruin; therefore, acting on the great principle of *salus populi*, the Congress of the United States repealed the treaty, and stood upon the ground of war or deliverance. That was the only way left us to rid ourselves of the embarrassments occasioned by the violation of this policy of Washington.

This is a memorable case in our annals, and American statesmen should lay it to heart. It illustrates the dangers, both of "entangling alliances" and propagandism. We with great difficulty escaped a war with all Europe, on account of the former; our ancient ally lost her liberties on account of the latter. France became the patron of this doctrine of intervention. She had overturned the monarchy, and brought the head of the descendant of St. Louis to the block. She had swept away the abuses of ten centuries; she had established "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Not content with that, she determined those great blessings, as she esteemed them, and as you esteemed them, should be enjoyed by the whole human race. She proposed a crusade against all monarchies and despotisms on the earth; and what was the result? Why, in trying to take care of

other people's liberties, she lost her own. [Applause.] The Directory of this Government—of this Republic, as it was termed—called us to join in this crusade for the liberties of mankind. I believe that is what we are asked to do now.

Well, it was then asked with far better claims to favorable consideration than now, because you had agreed to defend France against her enemies; you acknowledged the obligation of the treaty; you agreed to aid her in maintaining her West Indian possessions. England, our old enemy, had already snatched them. She said: "We have a free country, and you have a free country." "The despots of Europe are against you and us. Come, now, unite with us on this great principle, and we will overturn Monarchies and establish Republics." It was well for our liberties—for the present and unborn generations—that the chair of the American Presidency was filled by the Father of his Country. [Great cheering.] You had then, too, foreign emissaries here. Citizen Genet was here. He, too, appealed from the Government to the people. He told them, "In the days of your weakness you called upon us, and we defended you upon condition that you were to defend us also. Redeem the pledge, and strike with us for the down-trodden masses of Europe." Washington and the American Congress and people, guided by the truest wisdom and the soundest policy, refused to trust our rights and liberties to so dreadful a hazard.

Sir, we have had many other occasions to try this doctrine since this Government was established, but on all of them we have been wise enough to practice the precepts of Washington. We have had two European wars. But I believe we have had no protest against other nations managing their affairs to suit themselves. Those wars were in defence of American rights and American interests, and not of the rights and interests of any other people. [Applause.] The first was to maintain our independence; the second was to maintain our rights as an independent nation. [Applause.] The first war was to maintain the fact of independence; the second was to maintain the incidents of independence. Since we got rid of the French treaty, in 1798, by the courage, magnanimity, and boldness of the American Congress; from that day to this, we have been freed from that great danger which Washington warned us against—entangling alliances in European politics. Nobody since has advocated making any more such. We supposed we had this point settled, until we sent to Turkey at the national expense and brought over a brilliant orator—an exile from his own country, with magnificent genius, and more than oriental fancy—to lead the opponents of this great American policy. He says that this principle was well enough in Wash-

ington's time, but not now—that our circumstances have changed; and, with more ingenuity than force, urges that if it be yet applicable, his policy maintains it, as he desires intervention for the sake of non-intervention. I honor any man earnestly engaged in the cause of his country, and I can pardon his fallacies as far as they ought to be pardoned, though of course I cannot approve of them. With these sentiments, I beg to offer a few suggestions on those two objections of the great Magyar and his converts and adherents in this country.

Sir, Washington foresaw and answered the first of these objections in advance. He predicted the present strength and power of the country, and he cheered and animated his countrymen to stand firm, and resist the temptation in the day of their weakness to depart from their principles, with the assurance that their increased power would soon place them beyond the necessity for such treacherous aids. He knew that when we were weak from Colonial dependence, we had to sacrifice them to France—to sacrifice them for the safety of the country. He longed for the advent of that day when America should be strong enough to maintain her own true policy against the world, [applause;] and in that Farewell Address he tells you that if you will be united, and adhere to honesty and justice, the time will come when other nations will not readily interfere with you in asserting this great doctrine of neutrality, and that "we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel." [Applause.]

The other objection is, that you must intervene for the sake of non-intervention. This fallacy has been happily illustrated and exposed by my distinguished judicial friend, Judge Wayne. Sir, it amounts to this: that intervention is a wrong, and therefore you must do another wrong to eradicate that wrong; or to put it still more strongly, that because other nations commit a wrong—not to us, but to others—we must turn knight-errant, imitate the knight of La Mancha, and travel up and down the world, revenging or righting the wrongs of all injured nations. This is the whole argument. [Applause.] Again, it is said by this distinguished foreigner that the intervention of one nation in the affairs of other nations is against the laws of nations. Sir, I deny it. I want to know where the authority is. Where are the laws of nations gathered from? I say that it is not against the laws of nations for one nation to interfere with the affairs of another. The law of nations is not thus laid down by any of the approved publicists; it is not conformable to the judgment, the history, and practice of mankind. I shall not mar your festivities by quotations from their authors, nor from ancient or modern history, but will content myself with the statement that they all

affirm a contrary doctrine, and that it has been uniformly held to be a mere question of policy for every nation to determine for itself, whether it shall interfere in the quarrels of other nations or not. Did not France and Spain interfere in the quarrel you made with England? And now you are called upon to fight Russia for doing the same thing. If this new doctrine comes to anything, to that complexion it will come at last. It is true France and Spain interfered on the side of liberty—not that they cared for liberty. It is not to be supposed that the Bourbons of France interfered with you to promote liberty and a Republic, or that Spain under another branch of the Bourbons, interfered for that purpose. Their right to interfere was never disputed; the policy was generally questioned; it certainly added nothing to the stability of the throne of Louis Philippe. They wanted to humble an ancient foe. They availed ourselves of that hostility to aid our own cause and our own country against England. They aided us; we triumphed, and established liberty in this country. [Applause.] Let me add another word at this point. It is a strange time to assert this new doctrine. It was permitted to slumber on an occasion that might well have called forth all the enthusiasm of its present advocates. Russia, it is remembered, has been our ancient friend and ally. It is a mistake to suppose that similar institutions make national friendship. It is often the occasion of discord and rivalship of friendship. The history of ancient, as well as of modern times, attests this fact. The case which arose out of the recent revolution in Europe, in which one nation intervened to crush the liberties of another, was remarkable on several accounts: first, for its great and natural enormity, and still more from the fact that it seems to have escaped the vigilance of those guardians of the rights of mankind. French, who had overturned the throne of Louis Philippe, who had declared the equality of the human race—morally and politically—signalized the recovery of their own liberties by marching an army into Italy, crushing a public, and restoring a despotism. It is true that they have been visited by a sudden and righteous retribution. It is true that they not only lost their own liberties, but in a manner that makes them the scoff and scorn of despots and freemen throughout the world. [Loud cheers.] It is true that this great national crime provoked the speedy judgment of Heaven, but it extorted no word of condemnation, not even a protest, from this new school of American publicists. It is true we have been told, in these latter days, that it is time to change our policy. If we intend to change our policy, the time to do it was when a Republican Government, established by universal suffrage, marched an army to over-

the Roman Republic—when the French army restored Pius the Ninth. That was the time to announce these thunders of intervention. [Great cheering.] I believe there was not a man on the North American continent who then declared himself in favor of it. Why? Let me tell you. The reason gives me pain, and makes me blush for some of my countrymen; but it is the true reason, and therefore fitting to be told. It was not because the case was not a good one, there could be no cavilling on this point. A powerful Republic, without the pretence of a revocation, marches a great army into the territory of a sister Republic, not to repress civil war, for her independence was a fact accomplished—she had already emancipated herself from the worst despotism which had been seen in Europe for ten centuries—but for the purpose of crushing that Republic and restoring that despotism. There was this marked difference in the cases: it was *safe* to denounce Austria and Russia—indeed, it was more than safe—it promised to be a profitable political investment; there was hardly a chance that it could cost a political trader a single vote. On the other hand, it was not safe to denounce Pius the Ninth. A very numerous and respectable body of our fellow-citizens, both native and adopted, from religious sentiments, deeply sympathized with him. The advocates of intervention wanted the votes of these good citizens; therefore they looked on this great outrage with silence, if not with indifference. If they were not blind, they were numb! [Applause.] There was not a word said about this great principle then. We heard nothing then about intervention in behalf of liberty in Europe. I do not believe a resolution on the subject was even introduced into the Senate. [Laughter.] There was no resolution introduced there, then, saying that the French Republic had violated the great principles of public law by overthrowing the Roman Republic and reinstating the Pope. I do not say it ought to have been introduced; on the contrary, I say it ought not to have been. But if this policy is right towards Austria, it is right towards Rome; but it is all wrong, whether applied to Rome or Austria. It is a dangerous departure from the established policy of our country. Its advocates have abandoned these established principles, forgotten the advice of Washington, and gone astray after strange odds. [Great cheering.]

Gentlemen, I fear I have trespassed too long upon your patience. [Cries of "go on."] I speak plainly. "I speak what you do know," although many of you would not like to utter it. [Cheers.] There is another reason why the advice of Washington should be followed. It is your theory, I believe, that all men are capable of wise self-government. The events in Europe for the last three years have not strengthened the universality of this truth. Though

this may be universally true, it does not follow even that a people who are capable of governing themselves, are capable of governing other people and other nations; indeed, the converse of the proposition may be safely stated as an equally universal truth. There are infinite difficulties which arise from one country's undertaking to interfere with the institutions of another country. We know the difficulty in our own country of settling on the proper and true principles of our internal policy. I appeal to all of you—I appeal to the events of the last two years to answer me whether, if the internal policy even of the several States of this Union was left to be determined upon by the unrestrained will of the Representatives of the whole country, this Government could stand one day? If you say it can stand a day, I answer you that it ought not to stand an hour. [Great cheering.] Every day's experience teaches us that we owe our peace, our prosperity, and even safety, to the constitutional incapacity of the Federal Government to regulate or control the internal affairs of the separate States. This is our only safety. In view of this great fact, this policy of Washington speaks to us trumpet-tongued, with ten-fold power. If we cannot manage the local institutions of our own separate States safely through the General Government, how can we manage the institutions of others, with different languages, feelings, and institutions—with no common remembrances of the past, no common glory, no common literature, no common history, no common Bunker Hill, and no common Yorktown? [Great cheering.] Away with vain theories! Let us hold fast to that which is proven—the wisdom of the past. We have a great trust committed to our hands. Let us not be unfaithful to it. Let us preserve, protect, and defend our own country and her institutions, and leave those of other nations to themselves and to God—with abiding faith in the great truth that it is their safest depository, and that nations who desire to be free have only to will it. [Loud and long-continued cheering.]

Tenth toast:

Our Country—A safe retreat for the exile, and a quiet home for the emigrant; but not a theatre for foreign propaganda.

[Loud cheers.]

Eleventh toast:

The Press—A necessary auxiliary to popular intelligence, it needs no censor but popular virtue.

Mr. THOMAS RITCHIE, in obedience to repeated calls, responded to this toast. He said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I shall not be guilty of the presumption of making a speech in this crowd of orators. I will venture to say, however, that there is no man here who more highly appre-

ciates the character, the virtues, and the services of George Washington than I do. [Applause.] I have lately been reading—what I recommend every American to study—his correspondence during the Revolutionary war; and if he who reads it is not satisfied by it that he was a man designed by Providence for the liberation of his country, that he was the man of the age—“the stone cut out of the mountain”—to prostrate a system of tyranny—then, I venture to say, that man is not acquainted with the true history of his country—the true mission of the great man whose birthday we are now celebrating. [Applause.]

I will, sir, intrude no further on this meeting than to give a toast which is suitable to the occasion. I give you—

True Ambition—Not that vulgar and mischievous passion which has filled the page of history with upstart usurpers, but that noble ambition of Washington, which devotes itself to the liberty and glory of its country.

[Applause.]

Twelfth toast:

American Women—Celebrated for beauty, admired for virtue, and distinguished for intelligence and patriotism, they have a noble example in the character of the mother of Washington.

Music—Believe me, if all those endearing young charms.

The toast was received with loud cheers, followed by calls for “Dawson.”

Senator DAWSON, of Georgia rose and said:

It is known to everybody that I had no designation to this distinguished position, and I suppose it is entirely owing to the great regard I have for the female character that this call is made upon me. I, sir, am one of those who believe that the larger proportion of purity in this world belongs to that class known as our mothers and our sisters; and if they are more remarkable for one thing than for another, it is for their piety and determination never to violate the Commandments by breaking the Sabbath day. It being now twelve o'clock—

Cries of “Oh, no,” and “It's only half-past eleven.”

Mr. RITCHIE. Besides, there is no benefit of clergy here.

Mr. DAWSON. It is remarkable that my venerable friend here—

Mr. RITCHIE. No, not venerable.

Mr. DAWSON. Well, not venerable, then; but it is remarkable that my friend should say that there is no benefit of clergy here.

Mr. RITCHIE. Till twelve o'clock.

Mr. DAWSON. It cannot be expected—as I have not prepared a single sentence—that I should say more than this. Is there a gentleman present who does not feel the influence of female character? Is there a gentleman here

who would not bow submissively to them [Voices, “Not one.”] Is there a gentleman he that would violate a single proper command they might utter? [Cries of “Not one.”] there a single one who would violate a commandment of Scripture—especially when told to him by a female? [A voice: “That is another question,” (laughter)] “Thou shalt not break the Sabbath.” [Cries of “It is twelve yet.”] Well, I am glad to hear that is not twelve yet; for I appreciate this kind call to respond to the sentiment you have just given: “American women—Celebrated beauty, admired for virtue, and distinguished for intelligence and patriotism.” How beautifully expressed, and how true the sentiment and, sir, if it could only be that “the noble example in the character of the mother Washington” should be followed by them, our country would indeed be blessed, and our people distinguished in all the virtues that exalt noble human nature.

But, Mr. President, perhaps it is not proper we should be so highly blessed; for we know that, though women have few political rights, yet gallantry has given, and their purity, piety, and loveliness command, the power which the lordly assumption of man by decrees them, by which they rule society. sir! their mission is to do good, by kind benevolence, and charity; and they achieve more victories, and with more ease, than were ever achieved by the gallant and eloquent “General” who conquered California with sailors, or the “greatest Captain of the army who subdued Mexico, and nobly placed him and his brave army in “the Halls of the Tezumias.” [Great applause.] Yes, sir! he and statesmen—all—are submissive to power—a power intended to increase the pines of man, especially when they follow example in the character of the mother Washington.

I will not at this hour delay the next toast to the memory of Washington; for all are prepared to hear an eloquent and patriotic response from one of the household of the mortal Father of his Country. [Great cheering.]

Thirteenth and last regular toast:

The Memory of Washington—May it “moderate the fury of party spirit, and guard against the chief of foreign intrigue.”

Music—Pleyel's Hymn.

G. W. P. CUSTIS, Esq., responded as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: Being signed as my honored duty, to reply to the toast, I rise to endeavor to fulfil the task at the same time, permit me to offer my felt thanks for the great honor that has been done me in my being invited to this function given by the masters of the Republic. I am

d that I have witnessed some three score of anniversaries of this ever-memorable day, from the very dawn of the Republic, now at the meridian of its glory. Mine have been the destinies of no common man. I have seen this nation, when she was just emerging, as it were, from the leading-strings of her infancy to take her course upon the great theatre of the world. None has been that course. Aye, it has astonished the whole civilized world. Antiquity has nothing to compare with it. Modern times look with wonder. The Governments of the world say, "There is magic in this thing. How comes it that a nation of yesterday now outstrips us all? How comes it that she has risen, from time to time, till she is now placed on a pedestal for ages to admire?" It is liberty—there is the charm, there the magic that creates this wonder. [Applause.] Yes, they look upon it, and they behold in the rising progress and grandeur of this mighty empire example of the blessings of self-government. [Renewed applause.] They see that with these giant strides, but a limited time must expire ere America—my glorious country!—the master power of the world. [Great applause.] She has all the elements within herself. She has virtue, patriotism, energy, and love of liberty. [Renewed applause.] They have her on with such a force that even we, her people, who have "grown with her growth and strengthened with her strength," are lost in amazement at the vast growth and grandeur of the Republic.

My friends, while we take these things to our hearts, and when we find, go where we will, an American is an honored stranger, let us look back to first causes; let us look to the memories of the past, and let us pay homage to those who live only in their fame. Let us remember the days of our trials. Let us remember the days that tried men's souls." Let us remember the passage of the Delaware. Let us remember the hosts of Valley Forge. It was not that sunshine then, my friends, which often shines sweetly now over this vast empire; but oh! the tempests raged then. Yes! and if you had seen, as I have seen, many of the glorious souls that were in those days, and heard them tell their tales of those ancient times, you would know the price of liberty. [Great applause.] And say to yon proud city of New York—that now imperial city, as she may very properly be called—"You have many towering monuments of bronze and marble; one yet is wanting. Go and fish up some of the remains of the Jersey prison-ship—place it on a high monumental pedestal, with the words so large that those who run may read, 'Primum Libertatis'—This is what Liberty costs." [Great applause.] The presence of this honored assembly, on an occasion so honored, comes warm to my old heart. So should it

be. So should the masters of the Republic meet on this glorious and ever-memorable day as a band of brothers, associate together and cherish the glorious memory of the Father of his Country. [Applause.] For one day in the whole year, lay aside the right of opinion. Let nobody here express but one opinion, and that for his country, his whole country, and nothing but his country. [Applause.] Ah! my friends, the grave will have its due. Time's scythe sweeps without discrimination over the whole family of man. Few now live who hail from the past. Fewer still live—and but one solitary, unworthy being—who hail from the domestic family of Washington. In honoring him, as you have done on this occasion, you honor the memory of him who is gone. And as I said before, among the many proud distinctions of my long life, among the many happy moments I have passed in the bosom of my native land, among the many touching scenes I have witnessed in days gone by, this is one of the proudest days of my whole existence. Let me not trespass a moment longer on your kindness, but pray your permission to recite an ode which I composed, some twenty years ago, on the Centennial Anniversary of the 22d of February. I cannot promise you that you will find anything of poetry in it that will be worthy of your admiration: but to the sentiment, I feel assured, there will be a response in every American bosom:

To him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

First in war, he drew his patriot brand,

Not worlds to conquer, but a world to save;
When peace and freedom blessed his native land,
Resigned his power into the hands that gave.

Illustrious man! could not ambition then

Tempt thee to turn against thy country's breast
Thy victor sword, and be like other men,
And hailed a hero, like the laurelled rest?

Ah, no! thy laurels were by virtues won,

Pure and untarnished by a single shame;
Freedom and glory claim their WASHINGTON,
Millions unborn will venerate that name.

Thou empire founder! patriot, soldier, sage,

Centuries may pass, generations rise and die,
Thy fame shall flourish on from age to age,
Unheeding time, to immortality.

First in peace, in our bright and early day,

When Constitution's banner was unfurled,
The civic chief, how wise his civic sway,
When a young empire dawned upon the world.

First in a people's hearts; ah! there enshrined,
His fame and memory will never die,
But will instruct, adorn, and bless mankind,
Till time shall merge into eternity.

Called to his great reward, his race is run;

Yet there's a pure, a mild, benevolent ray,
Gleams from the glories of his setting sun,
To light the future patriot on his way.

What tho' nor bronze nor marble trophies grace,

Nor the proud column lifts its towering head,
Nor nation's tribute mark the honored place
Where rest the ashes of the mighty dead—

Yet, when the future pilgrim journeys on
Thro' this vast realm, he'll view with eye intent
The matchless glories of a WASHINGTON.
An empire's self, its founder's monument.

[Great applause.]

Mr. CRITTENDEN then rose and said :

Mr. PRESIDENT: This is the anniversary of the battle of Buena Vista. We commemorate it as the birthday of our Washington. I have said that that was a name that could not die; that it was a living name; and until we, as a people, are dead, it will be a living name. It fought with us in the battle of Buena Vista. That word passed from soldier to soldier when those fearful odds of battle were counted—twenty-five thousand to four or five thousand raw militia; and the frequent exclamation heard among our ranks, that "this was the birthday of Washington," gave strength to every arm and fortified the courage of every heart. It was the name, the spirit of Washington, that enabled us to conquer on that day.

An honored and venerable gentleman (Mr. Custis) has said that the grave claims its due. Let the old usurer have it. What is it, at last, that is his due? The poor corporeal remnants of poor humanity. The spirit lives after it. [Applause.] The spirit of Washington is immortal, and still moves and acts upon the hearts of his countrymen. His form—his visible, bodily form—has passed from us—that form, indeed, so majestic, "where every god had set his seal, to give the world the assurance of a man." [Cheers.] That, I acknowledge, is buried, gone beyond our sight, but his spirit yet remains with us—that potent and mighty spirit, mighty to save, mighty to inspire, mighty to fight for us, his countrymen, for whom he lived and for whom he died. It did inspire us on that day, [applause;] and to it we owe that memorable victory. Sir, it lives everywhere. It lives in us all. The judge upon the bench

partakes it. Presidents and Generals acknowledge its influence, and seek to emulate and to follow the examples of Washington. I know, from intimate and long acquaintance, that that soldier (pointing to General Scott) who so victoriously has commanded our armies and led them to many battles and to many victories, has felt and cultivated the influence of that spirit, and that his great ambition has been to fashion himself after that character—that model man, George Washington. [Loud cheers.]

But, Mr. President, I will not trespass upon you much longer. We cannot well celebrate the twenty-second of February without having our hearts turned, also, to some memory of the victory of Buena Vista, occurring on the same day, and which seems to have emanated from the nativity of our Washington, like a bright star, to shed upon it new lustre. Nor can we think of Buena Vista, without its bringing to our minds the grateful remembrance of that famous *old soldier and leader*, to whom, under Providence, we were mainly indebted for the victory—a victory almost without a parallel in history. The battles of his life are all over, and he now sleeps with the mighty dead.

Allow me to offer you the illustrious name of that brave, good, and patriotic man :

The Hero of Buena Vista—General Taylor, late President of the United States.

This toast was drunk standing, and in silence.

The following volunteer toasts were offered :

By the Hon. M. P. GENTRY, of Tennessee:

The Policy and Principles of Washington—The only rock of safety for Liberty and American Republicanism.

By the Hon. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL, of Ohio:

Washington—“One of the few immortal names that were not born to die.”

Shortly before one o'clock, the festivities closed and the company dispersed.

APPENDIX.

We give below the Letter of Invitation, and the answers which have been received from those to whom it was sent:

LETTER OF INVITATION.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1852.

SIR: Arrangements have been made for the celebration of the anniversary of the Birth of Washington, by a Congressional Banquet, to be given in this city, on Saturday, the 21st of February, for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect to his high character and illustrious services, and for the purpose of affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People. Soliciting the favor of your attendance as a guest on the occasion, we have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servants,

WILLIAM H. BISSELL, Illinois,
J. H. H. HAWS, New York,
WM. R. SMITH, Alabama,
ALEXANDER EVANS, Maryland,
VOLNEY E. HOWARD, Texas,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to the Congressional banquet in honor of the Birthday of Washington, to be served at Willard's Hotel this day. Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to be able to assist on that distinguished occasion; but I regret to say, that the feeble state of my health will not allow me that satisfaction.

I ardently hope that the Birthday of that great man may continue to be celebrated whilst time endures. But there seems to me to be a peculiar fitness of giving at the present time extraordinary eclat to the commemoration of the day. We have seen great principles laid down by him for the administration of his Government, especially in regard to its foreign policy. drawn in question, his wisdom doubted, and serious efforts made and making to subvert those maxims of policy by the conformity to which this nation has risen to its present unparalleled greatness. We have seen serious attempts to induce the United States to depart from his great principles of peace and neutrality, of avoiding all entangling alliances with foreign powers, and of confining ourselves to the growth, improvement, and prosperity, of our new country, and, in place of them, to plunge ourselves, by perilous proceedings and insensible degrees, in the wars of Europe. Under such circumstances, it is right, and proper, and useful, to repair to the great fountain of Washington's patriotism, and, drinking deep at it, to return refreshed and invigorated by the draught.

I hope, gentlemen, that your proposed celebration will add to the measure of our love and gratitude for his memory, and to our admiration for the purity, wisdom, and patriotism of his whole life.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, February 19, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have received the invitation which you have done me the honor of addressing to me, to be a guest at the Congressional Banquet, in this city, on Saturday, the 21st instant, for the purpose of celebrating the anniversary of Washington, and evincing a becoming respect to his high character and illustrious services, and affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People.

I regret that an engagement, entered into some months since, to be in New York on the day of your celebration, will deprive me of the satisfaction of being with you on this occasion. I sympathize deeply in the purposes and objects of your meeting, and I think there is a peculiar appropriateness in this celebration at the present time, when his opinions of what should be our national policy appear to me to have been somewhat misunderstood. As his public career was drawing to a close, he left to his country, as his last best gift, that Farewell Address to which you refer, and which contains a summary of his political principles, and also his most earnest and affectionate exhortations to his countrymen. And in a letter addressed to his friend and companion in arms, General Lafayette, in the last year of his life, in which he alluded to his valedictory address, he takes occasion to say that his ideas of politics are plain and simple. "I think," says he, "every nation has a right to establish that form of government under which it considers it may live most happy, provided it infracts no right, or is not dangerous to others; and that no Government ought to interfere with the internal concerns of another, except for the security of what is due to themselves."

I remarked, in this city, some twenty years ago, at an anniversary like the one you now propose to celebrate, that I hardly knew how a greater service of the kind could be done to the community than by a renewed and wide diffusion of that admirable paper, and an earnest invitation to every man in the country to read and consider it. Its political maxims are invaluable; its exhortations to love of country and to brotherly affection among citizens, touching; and the solemnity with which it urges the observance of moral duties, and impresses the power of religious obligation, gives to it the highest character of truly disinterested, sincere, parental, and Christian advice. His pure morals and his deep sense of religious duty form, indeed, the crowning glory of his character.

I remain, gentlemen, with unfeigned regard, yours, &c.

DAN. WEBSTER.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM MR. WINTHROP, LATE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON, February 16, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I am greatly obliged and honored by your communication of the 29th ultimo, inviting

my attendance at a Congressional Banquet, to be given on the 21st instant, in honor of the Birthday of Washington.

It would afford me the highest satisfaction to unite with you in "evincing a becoming respect to the high character and illustrious services of the Father of his Country, and in affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People."

That address bears date of the same day of the year with the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution was signed by its framers on the 17th day of September, 1787. The Farewell Address was signed by its author on the 17th day of September, 1796. The same stars presided over their origin; the same spirit breathed throughout their composition; and it is hardly too much to say that their destinies are indissolubly associated. The Constitution can repose in safety on no other principles than those of the Farewell Address.

It was nobly said by Lord Brougham, some years ago, that the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington will be a test, until time shall be no more, of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue. And the recent historian of Europe has said of the Farewell Address, that there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison with it.

Let us hope that the New World will be slow to undervalue a character and a composition which have challenged such an appreciation from the Old; and let us all beware of attempting to lay any other foundation for our political fabric than that which has been laid by the sword and the pen of Washington.

I regret sincerely, gentlemen, that my engagements will not allow me to join you on this interesting occasion; and I remain, with very true regard, your obliged fellow-citizen and obedient servant,

ROB'T C. WINTHROP.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

WASHINGTON, *February 21, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: I beg you to be assured that nothing but a prudent regard for my health, recently somewhat impaired, should deprive me of the pleasure of being present at the Congressional Banquet this evening, in accordance with your kind invitation.

To unite with the representatives of the people in celebrating the Birthday of the Father of his Country, for the purpose of affirming and reasserting the political principles enjoined in his Farewell Address, would be to me a most agreeable entertainment. That address but embodies and illustrates, in the form of precept and injunction, those governing maxims which made his life glorious, and guided his administration of public affairs. Fortunately for the country and the cause of human liberty, he had presided over the Constitution at its birth, recommended its adoption by the people of the States, in an affectionate letter of advice to the Chief Magistrate of each, had been called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen to organize the Government according to its provisions, and had administered that Government for eight years, in the infancy of its existence, and at a most important period in the history of the world.

It was the fortune of his Administration to encounter difficulties, pertaining both to our foreign relations and domestic affairs, greater in numbers and in magnitude than have fallen to the lot of any of his successors. But with a practical wisdom never surpassed, they were met and overcome without any compromise of national rights or dignity, without usurpation or abuse of authority, without weakening,

but on the contrary cementing, the bonds of our Union. Viewed now by the calm light of history, these very difficulties seem to have been but Providences designed to supply us with precedents in after times. So long as the example of Washington and the disinterested and far-seeing counsels of his valedictory address shall exert their proper influence upon the minds and hearts of his countrymen, we may hope that the asperity of party will be mitigated, sectional hostility repulsed, the national honor maintained, and our liberties and Union co-exist in harmony.

With profound obligations for your courtesy, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant.

WILL. A. GRAHAM.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, *February 9, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: I very much regret that the state of my health will not permit me to accept the invitation with which you have honored me, to the Congressional Banquet on the Birthday of Washington. Under other circumstances, it would have given me much pleasure to unite with you in commemorating a day which citizens of the United States should never forget, and re-affirming principles they should ever cherish.

With great respect, gentlemen, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

R. B. TANEY.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM MR. STRANGE, LATE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., *February 11, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor of receiving your polite invitation to partake "of a Congressional Banquet, to be given in celebration of the anniversary of the Birth of Washington, on Saturday, the 21st inst., for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect for his high and illustrious services, and of affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People."

I regret exceedingly that I cannot be present on that interesting occasion; pressing professional engagements render it almost impossible. But its objects have my most hearty concurrence. The 21st section of the Bill of Rights of the State of which I have the honor to be an adopted son, cannot be too often brought to the public notice. It is in these words: "That a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty."

There has been a most unhappy neglect of this sound maxim on the part of the American People, and the consequences have been great and most alarming departures from time to time in the administration of our Government from the fundamental principles on which it is based. Many of these principles are most solemnly and impressively called to our attention in the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country to the American People.

Not among the least important of the wholesome counsels it contains are his caution "against the insidious wiles of foreign influence," and his injunction "to have with them (foreign nations) as little political connection as possible." The inducements to this course are wisely presented, and the alarming dangers of a contrary one strongly depicted. If any nation or set of men on earth possessed the attributes of Deity, it might very properly undertake the protection of all the injured and oppressed throughout

world, and the overthrow and punishment of oppressors wheresoever they might be found. But this is not so: and it is therefore the part of wisdom in every nation not to lavish its means of doing good on distant and uncertain objects, and in Quixotic attempts to right supposed wrongs, which, if existing at all, are beyond its power to redress, and thereby expose to hazard the true interests of those for whom it is certain duty to provide. The ancient Republics, unmindful of this, brought ruin upon themselves; and we have read their histories to little purpose, if we do not take warning by their fall.

The American flag is spread abroad to the world, and all the nations of the earth are invited to come and seek protection beneath its ample folds. Those who come will never, I trust, be disappointed. Nay, the light of its stars will and must irradiate other lands. But, like those of the natural heavens, while seen from afar, cheering and enlightening, the stars themselves must never move from their proper sphere; for should they do so, it must involve themselves and the rest of the Universe in a common chaos, and chaos will come again.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant, RO. STRANGE.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON. EDWARD EVERETT, OF MASS.

BOSTON, *February 17, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: I am greatly obliged to you for the honor of an invitation to the Dinner to be given on the approaching anniversary of the Birthday of Washington, for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect for his character and services, and reasserting the principles set forth in his Farewell Address.

I sincerely regret that it is not in my power to be present at your patriotic festival. It is impossible that a company of American citizens should come together for a worthier or more important purpose. The principles of Washington's Farewell Address, approved as they have been at all times by our most distinguished statesmen of every party, have guided us through the trials of adversity and prosperity, ever since they were announced. These principles are, if possible, more important now than formerly. In the infancy of the Republic, our very weakness was a protection from dangers, both at home and abroad, of which we are now exposed by the consciousness of our strength. For this reason I rejoice that at a season when there has seemed to be a momentary disposition to depart from one of the most important of those principles, you have stepped forward to reaffirm them.

As friends of liberty and free government, our sympathies are due to all the oppressed; but the greatest service we can render them is to show to the world a bright example of a State, in which public prosperity and private happiness are most effectually promoted under popular institutions. But I trust we shall never be persuaded to give up that bond of union which we possess in our common reverence for the character and teachings of Washington, as they have hitherto been understood by the wisest and best among us. I know of nothing so desirable for the permanent welfare of the country, as that this pure and elevated feeling, approaching as near to idolatry as any emotion which man can warrantably cherish toward his fellow man, should gain strength with years, till it becomes a controlling influence over the hearts and conduct of the people.

I remain, gentlemen, respectfully, your friend and fellow-citizen, EDWARD EVERETT.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, OF NEW JERSEY.

NEW BRUNSWICK, *February 10, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: I thankfully acknowledge the honor you have done me by your invitation to the Congressional Banquet, in commemoration of the Birth of Washington; and I regret that I cannot be present to unite with you "in affirming and reasserting the principles set forth in his Farewell Address." Such re-assertion was never more needed than at this time; and we must still hope that the sober reflection of our people will yield to the wisdom and truth of his counsels.

With great respect, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, VA., *February 18, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: Yours of the 29th ultimo, inviting me to be present at the "Congressional Banquet, to be given in Washington city, on the approaching anniversary of the Birth of Washington, for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect to his high character and illustrious services," was duly received.

Anxious to participate in so laudable, and at the same time so appropriate, an expression of interest in the day, I have deferred an answer with the hope that I might find it convenient to do so. But a similar celebration in this place about the same time, coupled with official duties, will compel me to decline the acceptance of your kind and complimentary invitation.

As a Virginian, I rejoice to see that circumstances everywhere point to the propriety of some popular and universal manifestation of interest in the approaching anniversary, the associations connected with which cannot fail to awaken in the public mind recollections of the past, which serve alike to honor the illustrious dead, and call into remembrance those acts of valor, wisdom, and prudent foresight, which characterized the sages of the Revolution, and remain abiding monuments for the guidance and safety of the Republic.

I offer you the following sentiment:

The American System, as taught by the Father of his Country—Non-intervention, and no "entangling alliances."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOS. JOHNSON.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON. JOHN M. BOTT, OF VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, *February 10, 1852.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to attend a Congressional Banquet, to be given in the city of Washington, on Saturday, the 21st of February, for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect for the character and illustrious services of Washington, and for the purpose of affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People.

Heartily participating in the views of those who have deemed it proper (for the purposes indicated) to testify their unfaltering devotion to the great principles of the Father of the Nation, as set forth in his last great legacy to his countrymen, and believing that the time has arrived when it becomes every true patriot, unawed by a thoughtless and tumultuous multitude on the one hand, and unswayed by the teachings of distinguished and aspiring statesmen on

the other, to take his true and proper position in firmly and manfully maintaining those cherished principles of the Godlike Washington, which have heretofore regulated the foreign policy of our Government, and by which alone we can preserve our integrity, our nationality, and our independence, I will gladly avail myself of the opportunity you have thus afforded me, to lend whatever encouragement I can to advance the great purposes you have in view.

I therefore accept, gentlemen, the civility you have extended towards me, and will be present on the occasion referred to, if nothing unforeseen should occur to prevent it.

I am, with the highest respect and esteem, your obedient servant.

JNO. M. BOTT'S.

Hon. WM. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM MR. RUSH, LATE MINISTER TO FRANCE.

SYDENHAM, (NEAR PHILADELPHIA.)

February 14, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by your invitation to be present, as a guest, at a Congressional Banquet for celebrating the anniversary of the Birth of Washington, to be given on Saturday, the twenty-first of this month. At this juncture, when the tide of European emigration is setting in upon our shores with a force and effect far greater than hitherto known; when millions begin to come in place of former thousands, and when we are invoked to throw ourselves into the jarring contests of Europe; at such a juncture, an important one, and altogether new to us, your proposed celebration appears to me very opportune. I deeply lament my inability to be in the city of Washington on an occasion so interesting; but the honor of your invitation seems to give me the semblance of a claim for replying to it with something beyond a commonplace apology, though none to do so presumptuously. I do not fail to perceive that, by the terms of your invitation, the celebration is not alone for the purpose of "evincing a becoming respect to the high character and illustrious services" of Washington, but also for "affirming and reasserting the principles of his FAREWELL ADDRESS to the American People."

The principles embodied in that solemn document have by universal consent become of such peculiar value and magnitude, under national views, that mere words can no longer describe them. We must take results. Combined with Washington's enforcement of them during the first Administration of our Government, they have been the chief moral cause in making us what we are. We have stood upon them as on adamant. In a wonderfully brief period they have raised us to a high pitch of greatness and glory; only juvenile, however, as yet, but sufficient to have drawn forth the rational admiration of mankind. Had we not adhered to them, there is ample room for the belief that such quick and extraordinary results would never have been witnessed. We owe it, then, to ourselves, if not to the world, whose trustee for the preservation of human liberty we have often desired to be thought, to pause, to reflect, to avoid haste, before departing from them in any form. Especially should we be distrustful of taking steps in a new direction, under temporary excitements appearing to be now in operation, some or others of which might not be favorable to the calm exercise of judgment.

How far, in the fullness of time, some of the maxims of our great founder may disappear under the political horizon over which the power of this country is destined to sweep, if remaining under the panoply of our glorious Union—and sweep, let us hope, as justly as proudly—must be solved by time itself, that greatest of innovators. But, for the times we live in and have to reason with, a continued adherence to them will in all probability do more for the cause of

rational liberty abroad, than any implied menaces or constructive impeachments we could frame against despotism, certainly more than any wars we could wage against it—wars into which we might be drawn from slender beginnings, with no such intention at first. Under our liberal institutions, foreigners easing their lot here soon become part of us. The blend with our fortunes, share our prosperity, and augment our strength. Let us ask ourselves whether by being able to lift up their own lot in this country, there will not thus be reflected back upon the countries they leave, to an extent greater at least than we could hope to effect by any other kind of interference the political meliorations which those countries are in need of, if prepared to receive them. Silence is power—example a power—often the most effective of all others, in all affairs. Under the guidance of Washington's principles, a new nation from a fine stock has risen up in the new hemisphere, under auspices the most remarkable for laying broadly the foundations of freedom. It has passed through the portals into the family of strong nations. All watch it. It is full of promise. Amazing also has been its performance for the time of its existence. It is aspiring in the extreme, and has materials the richest and aspirations the very highest. Its maturity is still undeveloped, and trials and risks are still before it. Such is now this nation; and what a position of independent authority with other nations has it not obtained by its course hitherto! How radiant the beams on its early banner! What good hope, at this era, do they not hold out, of a magnificent future, the great spheres which this young America may fill. To revolve in them full-orbed, to play her first-round, she must go on longer as she has begun. This is the condition. The day for her work on other continents, whether of beneficent intention by her protests, or to enforce such ends by an array of her power, has not arrived. Her eagle wings, strong and growing pinions, are still unfeathered to boundless soarings in the distance. Encompassed by her own nearest duties and obligations, whilst advancing to the meridian she has not yet reached, though already now to beat back a world in arms should it approach her, no better study can there possibly be, even in the advice of Washington.

The study of his character will be the more apt and in right convictions, the more deeply it is gone into. There is a strength and universality in his principles for governing nations which it is not easy to conceive of anything human surpassing. They are not for this age or that—for this exigency or that. Duration is written upon them. They will be a force to hold empires together, which would be shattered to pieces under the maxims as under the conduct of a Napoleon. Whilst other men, called great in their day, ground, or sink, in going down the stream of time, his proportions become more visible and grand. Intrinsic superiority entered into every element of his moral and intellectual being. All his passions were so controlled that none of evil tendency ever intruded into the government of his conduct. He secured the deliberate veneration of minds the most exalted and pure. He forever carried with him the confidence and hurras of the masses. He was immaculate in honor, inflexible in justice, invariably in dignity. He had resources of wisdom when others were baffled, and of firmness when others were shaken. Kings respected him. The people adored him, his transcendent qualities and deeds being felt by all classes of mankind.

As tokens of this, if any single ones may be pointed out when the world is so full in all ways of his prodigious fame, may I dare to mention the homage rendered to it on two occasions, omitting others, which

appened to me to witness officially abroad. One item was in the palace of George III, whose subject our great Chief was before becoming the victor of his disciplined and formidable legions in the hard-fought fields of the long war of American Independence. Being in the apartments of that palace he representative of my country, in the time of Prince Regent, his son and successor, it was my to hear tributes to his extraordinary virtues and strenuous career, from a member of the British royal family, uttered where the assembled ambassadors of one might have heard them; and need I add how fully they fell upon the ear of an American Minister?

the other instance which, under your permission, I recall, was more signal, more historical, more instructive. It was in France, where also I was honored with the representative trust from this our great public, whose roots have been laid as if for centuries in our soil. And it was in that memorable February of '48, at the epoch of the blessed anniversary we are to celebrate. Then it was that the French monarchy fell at a blow, and a Republic was promulgated upon its ruins. Wild shouts of joy went up from a sacked and burning palaces, as their inmates sought safety through the avenues and bowers of their ancient gardens. Not singly, either, did such shouts go up. Even the sober-minded gave way to emotion, as if the heavens had opened with bright and glorious illuminations upon the troubled path of France. So, at first, seemed the vision; and millions hoped at first to read in it a golden future for this ancient, powerful, and highly-advanced people. But then difficulties came, when the shock in Paris visited through continental Europe, upheaving the thrones above thrones, when the struggles of rival interests and passions, the keen clashings of opposite theories and dogmas, the fierce jealousies, and selfishness, and violence, of alternate factions contending for domination, were all seen to be fearfully commingled; when these were revealing how hard is the task of reconciling public liberty with public order, and the security of private rights, in great communities that suddenly throw off their forms of government; when wise and good men were appalled, and knew not what to do, or were jostled and thrown off the stage by the cunning and bad—what was it I then said? Let Americans remember it, native and adopted, who deem lightly of the work of revolutionizing foreign despots, tumbling down European monarchies, or contending at this day from our shores in any manner with trans-atlantic tyranny. Truly, it was under this dark aggregate of accumulated and accumulating perils that I heard, as did others, the master spirit of the Provisional Government, Lamartine, say—the man who saved France from torrents of blood by the self-possession, courage, and eloquence of a minute—it was in these terrible scenes I heard him despairingly say, that "THE WANT OF THE AGE WAS A EUROPEAN WASHINGTON!"

What a mighty name is his! What a tower of strength! How fitted to cover nations as with an arm of wisdom, and safety, and true glory.

I pray you, gentlemen, to receive indulgently this my answer to your obliging invitation, and to accept my thanks for the honor of it. Knowing Washington we knew him, and as all time will know him, shall we hastily swerve from his counsels, at a season when more than ever, perhaps, they should be as a lantern under our feet? The grounds are solid for thinking that, among us, his consummate wisdom would as little, at this juncture, turn aside to embark in efforts to overthrow tyranny in Europe, or wrestle with it in any mode, as to overthrow the domestic institutions of any of these States. Let us hope that his counsels may not be forgotten. Let us still hold on to the broad

spirit of them. They are of force to shield us from woes at home and stave off trouble from abroad. As one citizen of the Republic, I hail the object of your Banquet. Taking place at the national metropolis, where are assembled so many names prominent in intelligence, character, and patriotism, before the country, rays of influence will be shot from that centre, to subserve throughout all our borders its high design. Hoping this result from it, and renewing my regrets at my inability to be present, I beg to tender to you the full assurances of my distinguished consideration and respect.

RICHARD RUSH.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON. MR. INGERSOLL, OF PHIL'A.

PHILADELPHIA, February 19, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I am much honored by your invitation to be associated with you on an occasion so patriotic as that which you propose to celebrate. The objects in view are worthy of the bright saint's-day of our political calendar. Absent or present, I will most cordially bear my humble part in the pledges of respect which, with one accord, you are about to offer to the character and services of the best of men, and in affirming and reasserting the sublime principles set forth by him.

Nothing can be more at variance with the life we venerate and the principles we cherish than the doctrine which has of late been struggling to get footing among us. No subtlety can reconcile, no false coloring can impart resemblance to them. Some of your friends and colleagues have on the floors of Congress ably exposed this doctrine of intervention, and none can be unacquainted with its delusions and sophistries. For more than half a century, a clear light has been shed upon it from the tomb of Washington. It has recently assumed such varying shapes and hues, that reflections from the rainbow seem alone to be adapted to it. It delights to bewilder the judgment while it plays around the fancy. It holds out for a moment a threat that is bold, direct, and warlike; and when traced to its obvious and inevitable ends, it professes to be vague and harmless. With the same patrons, and similar acknowledgments and aims, it is intervention to-day, non intervention to-morrow, and intervention for the sake of non-intervention the day after. It eludes the grasp with dexterous facility until it finds a suitable, but scarcely intelligible, definition in an involved and almost forgotten diplomatic phrase of some five-and-forty years ago, as "a result incident to a state of things growing out of distinct considerations."

Intervention, by whatever name it may be put forth, is in principle worse than an absurdity, and as such it is entitled to little notice. In anything like practical application to ourselves, it is eminently objectionable, and may not be without its dangers. We are scarcely competent to judge from our own condition of the probable necessities of other nations. There is little fitness of things that is alike common to us and them. We are bound to remember that a standard of enjoyment which we justly cling to with pride may be altogether out of place elsewhere. He was a wise lawgiver who provided for his people not the best laws, but the best they were able to bear. This country has been accustomed to freedom in a qualified or absolute extent from the earliest moment of civilized settlements upon its shores, and it knows how to appreciate and enjoy the blessing. That blessing might be felt as an unaccustomed burden by a nation imperfectly taught the lessons, and inexperienced in the habits, of self-government and civil liberty.

Are we fully informed of the wishes of the especial

people in whose behalf our friendship is asked, who might reluctantly listen to the offers of an unsuitable alliance? Something more is needed than the wishes of a doubtfully accredited agent, identified by no symbols, and bearing with him no emblems of the past, no pledges for the future—an agent whose functions, if ever authentic, were long since, together with his country, abandoned or laid aside. True allegiance knows no difference between services of safety and those of danger, between a devotion to fellow-citizens in prosperity and triumph and a devotion to fellow-citizens in servitude and chains. If the sympathies of the world could give free institutions and national independence, is there any warrant for reliance upon the stability of those possessions in the desires or the power of those upon whom they should be thus conferred? One thing appears to be certain—that a state of apparent happiness in a smiling land has been already changed into one of comparative desolation; and if a future struggle is to be as disastrous as the last, the reward of those who encourage it may be to mourn over, not the suspension of agriculture and diminished population and prosperity in once flourishing cities, but utter and overwhelming and hopeless ruin. If we are willing to plunge blindly into the unknown fortunes and uncertain fate of one nation, is it wise to cancel the bonds of reciprocal respect with others, confirmed as they have happily been by a long course of good offices and good will?

An example may well be set by this Republic, which will be worth more than a thousand acts of intermeddling and officiousness. A wholesome and judicious system of foreign and domestic policy, that shall neither commit towards others nor suffer towards itself encroachment or other intentional wrong, which shall exhibit prosperity as the crown of peace, and universal respect as a tribute freely paid to national honor, will do more for the cause of independence than contributions of millions of money or legions of armed men. It is enough that a war has already been waged by holy alliances against institutions at variance with their own. This war of conflicting principles has been, so far as we are concerned, conducted without bloodshed; and it will end at last, when the whole world shall be disciplined for institutions like ours, in their establishment, diffusion, and triumphant success. Example creates by its moral influence no just complaint; and when it has done its office, it leaves behind it little danger of reaction or collapse. Instead of cultivating good example and self-respect at home, we are importuned to go abroad with itinerant humanity. We are asked as a Government for idle threats and empty protests; we are asked as a people, appealed to from their Government, and agitated and excited by words, to involve ourselves in loans and speculations that may tempt cupidity into partisanship hereafter, or to cast ourselves at once into the gulf of immediate controversy.

If, indeed, there be in the heart of Europe a down-trodden race, unhappy from oppression and anxious for relief, let them seek it in our broad belts of latitude. Their history, but imperfectly known to us, would seem to exhibit them as consisting largely of the privileged and patrician descendants of an Asiatic tribe. They may bring with them, if they have it, all their desire for independence, and they will find an ample share of independence, along with a country and a home. They may find a welcome for everything they bring, except their privileges, which are not recognised here. The most liberal Constitution, policy, and laws, almost interminable public domain, a congenial climate, and a fertile soil, await their coming, and afford a promise of all that we should desire to bestow. They point out the mission of our

nation above that of every other on the surface of the earth, as one of hospitality; and they determine for us and for the stranger how benevolence can best be exercised, how relief can be best obtained.

We are reminded by the day which you are about to celebrate, and by the memorials which are summoned up by its annual return, of more solemn motives for avoiding the seductions of devotion or dislike towards foreign nations. A testament is in our hands, which it would be political heresy to disregard, and moral treason to disobey. Time has not obscured the brightness of its precepts, or the course of events impaired its title to reverence. Its wisdom is demonstrated in the growth and power of the people for whom it was designed. The prosperity of that people at this day depends as much upon the observance of its lessons as on the day of their utterance; for they rest on principles of truth and virtue, which are unchangeable and everlasting. Emanating from a heart so pure and a hand so firm and true, this legacy of a now-sainted spirit has become the ark of our national safety, and the sacrament of our political faith. Its solemn injunctions cannot be doubted without danger, or departed from except on the verge of destruction.

Were I present at your festive board, I would respectfully offer this sentiment, suggested by the parting words of Washington:

Our Country—Neither the slave of “inveterate antipathies,” nor the satellite of delusive and “passionate attachments,” nor the victim of foreign “artificial ties;” if true to herself and to the wise maxims of her political Father, her name will be spotless, her happiness unclouded, her career glorious, and her Union immortal.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your faithful servant, J. R. INGERSOLL.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM JUDGE NELSON, OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have received the invitation, that you have done me the honor to send, to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the Birthday of Washington by a Congressional Banquet on the 21st inst., for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect to his high character and illustrious services, and of affirming and reasserting the principles set forth in his Farewell Address to the American People.

It would afford me very great gratification to have been able to join the members of Congress on the occasion and for the purpose mentioned; but the pressure of official engagements will necessarily deprive me of the pleasure. Thanking you for the honor of the invitation, allow me to subscribe my self, with great respect, your obedient and humble servant,

SAMUEL NELSON.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON. MR. SERGEANT, OF PHIL'A.

PHILADELPHIA, February 18, 1852.

DEAR SIRS: Your kind invitation of the 29th January, to the Banquet to be given on the 21st inst., in celebration of the Birth of Washington, “for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect to his high character and illustrious services, and of affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People,” was received some days ago. I feel myself honored by the invitation, and should be happy to be associated with such a company and for such an occasion. But the

present state of my health, I am sorry to say, does not permit me to attend.

Concurring with you heartily in your views and intentions, and hoping that their purity and patriotism may recommend them to the sympathy of our fellow-citizens, and wishing for you the enjoyment of the celebration proposed, I am, dear sirs, with great respect and regard, your friend and fellow-citizen.

JOHN SERGEANT.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON MR. HILLIARD, OF ALABAMA.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., February 12, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to be present as a guest at the Congressional Banquet to be given in Washington on Saturday the 21st, for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect to the high character and illustrious services of Washington, and for the purpose of affirming and reasserting the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People; and as my engagements will not allow me to attend, I can only express my sincere and full sympathy in your patriotic objects.

Many who have heretofore accepted that address as a wise and authentic exposition of the policy of the American Government at that period, insist now that our relations to mankind have undergone too great a change to allow us to adhere to it. We were then weak; it was essential to our growth, if not to our existence, that we should escape the struggles of European States—our system was but an experiment; but we are now strong; Republican systems may stand—the vast progress in political events throughout the world proves that thrones must fall—and it is now announced that we should add to the moral power of our own great and successful example a vigorous, direct, and potential interference in behalf of foreign States, engaged in conflicts with despotic and oppressive Governments. There comes, too, an appeal to our generous sympathy in behalf of the oppressed—a noble indignation against the oppressor is invoked; we are urged to the glorious task of attacking and overthrowing tyrants banded together against the rights of mankind.

We can all readily comprehend, gentlemen, how hard it is to resist such an appeal; it is not easy to repress our enthusiasm in behalf of a brave people beaten down beneath the blows of Austria and Russia, and it may well flame up when the illustrious leader of that people comes to our shores, not an exile flying from the pursuit of the tyrant, and content to abandon the cause of his country in this her day of darkness, but when he stands up to vindicate the memory of his martyred countrymen, and to plead for the survivors in tones eloquent with patriotic pathos.

Still, in my judgment, the principles announced by Washington in 1776 are the true principles for to-day; what was wise then is wise now.

Nor is the policy selfish; it is as noble and expanded as it is wise and safe. Beyond a question, the influence of our great example has done more for the advancement of human liberty throughout the world than all other causes combined. The steady progress of a Government recognising in all its departments the widest principles of constitutional liberty; the spectacle which we exhibit of vast power and perfect tranquillity, of our ability to maintain order at home and to defend our flag in all the waters of the earth—all this is seen by the whole world, and the impression which it makes must be clearly read as a vindication of the claims of mankind to the right of self-government.

Let us preserve our Government—let us maintain

the Union of these States—let us spread our power, our people, our laws, our religion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, confronting on the one shore the monarchies of Europe, and on the other the debasing systems of Asia, and the world will learn more from us, and the cause of human liberty be better served by us, than if we should enter upon a crusade against the States of Europe, and involve ourselves in a war between races, which could only result in fixing thrones more firmly than they stand to-day.

I rejoice to see the conservative feeling evinced in Congress upon the question of intervention, and to observe the noble position assumed by the Administration in regard to it.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, HENRY W. HILLIARD.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM MR. DUVAL, LATE GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: The state of my health will deprive me of the honor of accepting your kind invitation to celebrate this day, the anniversary of the Birth of Washington. To evince proper respect to the memory of that illustrious man, to recognise his eminent services to our country, and enforce and affirm the principles set forth by him in his Farewell Address to the American People, will ever be the duty and pride of every true American heart.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. P. DUVAL.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM HON. HIRAM KETCHUM, OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, February 20, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by your invitation to attend a Congressional Banquet, in honor of the anniversary of Washington's Birthday. I regret exceedingly, gentlemen, that I am prevented by indispensable engagements from availing myself of this invitation.

I rejoice that the members of Congress have decided to celebrate this anniversary, and cannot doubt that such honor to the memory of Washington will be highly commended by their constituents, the people of the United States.

I pray you, gentlemen, by all the means in your power, to hold up, for the admiration and imitation of his countrymen and all mankind, the character of Washington—his pure morality, his love of liberty, his respect for law, his devotion to the service of his country. Whether he inculcates attachment to the Union, respect for morality and religion, or the danger of interfering in the affairs of European nations, his counsels are the results of the profoundest wisdom and foreast, and entitled to our highest respect. There must be other reasons than any which have yet been suggested, to make sound and patriotic Americans depart from the counsels of Washington on any of the topics referred to.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully and truly, your obedient servant, HIRAM KETCHUM.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM MR. CHAMBERS, LATE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND.

CHESTERTOWN, February 12, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to be present as a guest at the Congressional Banquet, on the 21st instant.

Previous engagements compel me reluctantly to

deny myself the pleasure of associating with you on the occasion.

It should be a source of earnest and profound gratification to every genuine friend of the political institutions of the country, to witness the cherished remembrance, by every American citizen, but especially by those who rule in the councils of the nation, of the illustrious man whose Birthday you are to honor.

If, of all the important incidents in his eventful life, no record had been transmitted but that of the great national legacy bequeathed to his countrymen on his voluntary retirement from the first office in the nation, yet the wisdom, the patriotism, and the virtue, which occasioned it, as well as the inestimable and intrinsic value of the principles and policy of his Farewell Address, would render him immortal in history, immortal in the affections of his countrymen.

Yes, sirs, when the memory of the most successful warriors, and of the brilliant actions which have justly illustrated their names on the pages of history, shall in the long lapse of centuries be wafted by the ocean of time to regions of oblivion, and when all effect from these mighty conflicts of mighty men shall have ceased to operate for good or for ill, still shall the enduring fame of our Washington know no diminution or decay; still shall the memory of his principles as a statesman and his virtues as a citizen be fondly cherished and regarded as a model of imitation by all who can appreciate the blessings of rational civil liberty, or venerate the high and noble moral qualities that give perfection to the character of a Christian patriot.

I beg leave to offer you the subjoined sentiment; and remain, very truly, yours,

E. F. CHAMBERS.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

Washington's Farewell Address—The best textbook of an American statesman. The past and the present bear witness to its wisdom—may no unhallowed influence prevent a similar testimony from the future.

FROM THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1852.

SIR: Being too unwell to attend Washington's Birthday celebration this evening, I beg to propose for the occasion the following sentiment:

Our Country—with the love of Union inculcated by Washington, and a reverence for the dignity and rights of the States as taught by Jefferson, prevailing—will as a whole endure forever.

Yours, truly, LINN BOYD.
To the PRESIDENT Washington Banquet.

FROM MR. BALDWIN, LATE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN, February 11, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your obliging invitation to attend, as a guest, the Congressional Banquet, to be given on the 21st of February, in celebration of the anniversary of the Birth of Washington.

I beg to assure you of my cordial concurrence in the purposes indicated in your letter, and my regret that it will not be in my power to avail myself of so appropriate an occasion to unite with you in the proposed commemoration of the exalted virtues and illustrious services of the Father of his Country, and in the affirmation and reassertion of the principles so earnestly and impressively set forth in his Farewell Address to the American People—principles which,

though they may have seemed for a season to fading from the memory of many of the present generation, I rejoice to believe are yet warmly cherished by a great majority of the people in every section of our wide-spread Republic.

Thanking you, gentlemen, for the honor of your invitation, I am, with great respect, your friend and fellow-citizen, ROGER S. BALDWIN.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE HON. MR. GRAYSON, OF S. CAROLIN

CHARLESTON, February 16, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have the pleasure of receiving your invitation to be present at the celebration of Washington's Birthday, on the 21st of this month. I thank you for the honor you have done me, and regret that I am unable to attend. It is indeed an honor to assist in showing respect to the Father of his Country.

Lord Brougham has said, that in all times a reverential regard for the name and character of Washington will be the test, in every country, of its advancement in civilization and refinement. In our own, it will be the standard by which to determine our continued respect for constitutional law and conservative principles—for order, right, and wise government.

I rejoice to see the effort you are making to reassert the great principles of his Farewell Address—paper which could by no possibility have come from any mind but his, and which will never lose its commanding influence with his country so long as it is worthy to be his.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant, W. J. GRAYSON.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF MAINE.

HALLOWELL, MAINE, February 16, 1852.

DEAR SIR: Having negligently mislaid an invitation from the Committee to attend the Washington's Birthday Festival, I avail myself of our former acquaintance to address you as one of the names on the invitation, and through you to tender my thanks to the Committee for the favor.

I regret that official duties, connected with the present sitting of our Legislature, will prevent my being with you on such an occasion.

While our hearts are filled with perpetual and overflowing gratitude in memory of his services and his sacrifices, in deep reverence of his character becomes us to yield to the spirit of his counsels, and to be baptized in the spirit of his patriotism, to exercise the spirit of conciliation and compromise which enable the Father of our Country and his compatriots to accomplish the glorious results of which we are enjoying the fruits.

Sectionalism, against which his warning voice was raised, geographical parties, which his prophetic eye foresaw, have reared their odious heads in our midst without his conciliatory temper, they threaten the integrity of our Union.

Could my presence at your assemblage add or mitigate in allaying the fell monster, could I vainly flatter myself that I could in any degree aid you, a few other considerations should be laid aside, and I would be with you.

I am, with high respect, yours, JOHN HUBBARD.

Hon. V. E. HOWARD.

FROM THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

NEW YORK, February 20, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the

receipt of your invitation to attend the Congressional Banquet, commemorating the Birthday of Washington. I regret that official engagements here forbid the acceptance of it.

I rejoice exceedingly that the representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States have set the worthy example to their constituents of celebrating the Birthday of the Father of his Country. I hope this example may be followed by every succeeding Congress, and become universal throughout the country.

Beside the twenty-second day of February, we have but one day celebrated by the nation, the fourth of July. The due observance of these occasions ought certainly to be encouraged for the simultaneous indulgence of the sentiment that our fears, our hopes, our aims, are one. We have one country, one Constitution, and one destiny.

There can be no higher duty of patriotism than to hold up the character and example of Washington, and inculcate his principles. The observance of these principles have thus far led us to prosperity, honor, and renown. We are united and prosperous at home, and respected abroad.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. C. KINGSLAND.

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

FROM JUDGE CURTIS, OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BROWNS' HOTEL, February 20, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor to receive, last evening, your invitation to attend the Congressional Banquet to be given in this city on the 21st instant, for the purpose of evincing a becoming respect for the high character and illustrious services of Washington, and of affirming and reasserting the principles of his Farewell Address.

This purpose has my most hearty approval, and it would give me pleasure to manifest it by my presence, if I were not prevented by other engagements. Thanking you for the honor of this invitation, I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

B. R. CURTIS

Hon. Wm. H. BISSELL, and others,
Committee of Correspondence.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my

inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes

you one people, is also now dear to you. It justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken; many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed. It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your nation Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignant frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred tie which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerful they address themselves to your sensibilities, are greatly outweighed by those which appeal more immediately to your interest; here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common Government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefits by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in differ-

ays, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which self is unequally adapted. The *East*, in like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, erected by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same Government; which their own rivalships alone could be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common Government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of Governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have

demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interest and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence

in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as

is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little less than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the dangers of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographic discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which facilitate a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and, in Governments of monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit

erty. But in those of the popular character, Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and subdue it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective institutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach on another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience

both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail, in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense, by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is

more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Republicans, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have no, or a very remote, relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essential foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient Government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude that will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected. When belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in the

uine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend it.

aking care always to keep ourselves, by able establishments, on a respectable de-
ive posture, we may safely trust to tempora-
lliances for extraordinary emergencies.

armony and a liberal intercourse with all
ons are recommended by policy, humanity,
interest. But even our commercial policy
ld hold an equal and impartial hand ;
her seeking nor granting exclusive favors
preference; consulting the natural course
hings; diffusing and diversifying by gentle
ns the streams of commerce, but forcing
hing; establishing, with Powers so disposed,
order to give trade a stable course, to define
rights of our merchants, and to enable the
overnment to support them, conventional
es of intercourse, the best that present cir-
stances and mutual opinions will permit,
temporary, and liable to be from time to
e abandoned or varied, as experience and
umstance shall dictate; constantly keeping
view that it is folly in one nation to look for
nterested favors from another ; that it must
with a portion of its independence for-
ever it may accept under that character ;
t by such acceptance it may place itself in
condition of having given equivalents for
inal favors, and yet of being reproached
h ingratitude for not giving more. There
n be no greater error than to expect or
culate upon real favors from nation to na-
n. It is illusion, which experience must
re, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these coun-
s of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not
pe they will make the strong and lasting im-
ession I could wish ; that they will control
e usual current of the passions, or prevent
r nation from running the course which has
thero marked the destiny of nations ; but if
may even flatter myself that they may be
oductive of some partial benefit, some occa-
onal good ; that they may now and then recur
moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn
gainst the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to
ward against the impostures of pretended pa-
trotism ; this hope will be a full recompense
r the solicitude for your welfare by which
ey have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official du-
es, I have been guided by the principles which
ave been delineated, the public records and
ther evidences of my conduct must witness to
ou and to the world. To myself, the assur-
ance of my own conscience is, that I have at
east believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Eu-
ope, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793,
s the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your
pproving voice, and by that of your represent-

atives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit
of that measure has continually governed me,
uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert
me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of
the best lights I could obtain, I was well satis-
fied that our country, under all the circum-
stances of the case, had a right to take, and
was bound in duty and interest to take, a neu-
tral position. Having taken it, I determined,
as far as should depend upon me, to maintain
it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right
to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this
occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, ac-
cording to my understanding of the matter,
that right, so far from being denied by any of
the belligerent Powers, has been virtually ad-
mitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may
be inferred, without anything more, from the
obligation which justice and humanity impose
on every nation, in cases in which it is free to
act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace
and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing
that conduct will best be referred to your own
reflections and experience. With me, a pre-
dominant motive has been to endeavor to gain
time to our country, to settle and mature its
yet recent institutions, and to progress without
interruption to that degree of strength and con-
sistency which is necessary to give it, humanly
speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my ad-
ministration, I am unconscious of intentional
error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my de-
fects not to think it probable that I may have
committed many errors. Whatever they may
be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert
or mitigate the evils to which they may tend.
I shall also carry with me the hope that my
country will never cease to view them with in-
dulgence : and that, after forty-five years of my
life dedicated to its service, with an upright
zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be
consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to
the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other
things, and actuated by that fervent love to-
wards it which is so natural to a man who views
in it the native soil of himself and his progeni-
tors for several generations, I anticipate with
pleasing expectation that retreat in which I
promise myself to realize, without alloy, the
sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of
my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good
laws under a free Government—the ever fa-
vorite object of my heart, and the happy re-
ward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors,
and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

